



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



HN MENS +

111.1 115.4



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



Ital 736.4



133

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE
CATHOLIC REFORM MOVEMENT

In the Italian Church;

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A SKETCH OF A RECENT TOUR IN LOMBARDY

AND VENETIA,

AND THREE LETTERS TO THE REV. F. MEYRICK, A.M.

By W. CHAUNCY LANGDON, A.M.

RIVINGTONS,

London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

POTT AND AMERY,

5 & 13, COOPER UNION, FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

1868.

~~Ital 736.4~~

Ital 736.4

1878, Aug. 31.

Gift of
Rev. Wm. Chauncy Langdon,
of Cambridge.

Ital 736.4



PREFACE.

THERE has been awakened of late a growing interest in the religious changes now in progress in the Italian Church. Many who had not followed this movement from its early days, now wish to make themselves acquainted with the facts, and find this difficult. Arch-deacon Wordsworth's "*Tour in Italy*" was written at a date which enabled its author only to give an encouraging picture of the early *promise*, rather than a record of the *progress*, of the movement; and it did not fall within the scope of Mr. Talmadge's "*Letters from Florence*" to investigate the question with any detail. The interest awakened by these works, and the desire for further information, remains as yet unmet; for the story is carried on, and is to be found only in fragments, here and there, in review and newspaper articles, and in the reports of Societies and Committees.

To supply my own need, and perhaps that of others who are sometimes asked where more connected information on the subject could be found, I have prepared the following sketch, at a time when the pressure of other duties forbade my giving it the time and care I wished; but yet, with the hope that it may serve at least a provisional purpose, until such an account shall be given to the Church and the public as shall be more worthy of the subject.

In these pages I have simply confined myself to the consideration of that movement which aims at reform *within* the bosom of the Catholic Church of Italy. To dwell upon the results of *foreign* missionary effort would be going beyond the unity of my present purpose; since, however kindred the great aims and motives which prompt both alike, the one is *Italian* and the other is *foreign*, and the two are entirely distinct.

The substance of this account has been, of course, written for the present purpose; but whenever I have found, in any previous report or article of my own, such a statement of facts or narrative of an incident as I now wished, I have not hesitated to use it here again.

It is humbly trusted that even so slight an offering may be blessed in its measure, and aid in arousing a still

more earnest interest and a still deeper Christian sympathy in the cause of those who are entering, before our eyes, upon a struggle, whose like in other days was an epoch in the history of the world ; and whose results, if successful, will be fraught with blessings not to Italy alone, but to us and to our children to the end of time.

W. C. L.

FLORENCE,

August 22, 1868.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.	
	PAGE
CAUSES AND FIRST MOTIVES OF ITALIAN REFORM . . .	1

CHAPTER II.	
EARLY DEVELOPMENTS	12

CHAPTER III.	
ITALY AS A FIELD FOR RELIGIOUS REFORM	24

CHAPTER IV.	
EARLY LEADERS OF REFORMING THOUGHT IN NORTH ITALY .	31

CHAPTER V.	
CLASSIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION	46

CHAPTER VI.	
THE "ESAMINATORE" AND ITS CONTRIBUTORS	61

CHAPTER VII.

	PAGE
THE "ESAMINATORE;" ITS PRESENT POSITION AND INFLUENCE	81

CHAPTER VIII.

THE "SOCIETÀ EMANCIPATRICE" AND THE PROGRESSIVE JOURNALS	94
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

REFORMING PREACHERS AND OTHER AGENCIES	105
--	-----

CHAPTER X.

LAY CO-OPERATION	124
SKETCH OF A RECENT TOUR IN LOMBARDY AND VENICE	134
THREE LETTERS TO THE REV. F. MEYRICK, A.M.	147

SOME ACCOUNT,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES AND FIRST MOTIVES OF REFORM IN ITALY.

THE reforming spirit slowly gathering power in the Italian Church is nothing new. Its fruition—if God grants it now at length—will be the result of the patient and long-suffering labour of centuries: the story is scarcely interrupted, nor has the succession ever been wholly lost, from Arnold of Brescia to Rosmini and his yet living followers.

However futile may once have appeared the efforts of successive reformers, there is perhaps no one of them but has contributed something, be it less or more, towards the preparation of Italy for the events and struggle of the present age. The traces of Ambrosian independence have never disappeared in the Milanese: Cathedral dignitaries of that great Metropolitan See remind each other to-day of the reply which the clergy of Milan gave to Damiani in the eleventh century.

B

The ecclesiastical polity of the *Divina Commedia*, as well as the poet's confidence in the future unity of Italy, explained the wide enthusiasm awakened by the *Dante* celebration of 1864, and gives much of their significance to the statues of the great Italian which have since been erected all over Italy. Florence has never forgotten Savonarola; and the little busts and portraits in the shop-windows, as well as the new square about to be named after him, attest the fact. Even the doctrinal influence of Juan Valdes and of his friends Occhino and Peter Martyr have probably been crushed *only out of sight* by the Neapolitan Inquisition: and a young Venetian priest has just (July, 1868) been suspended for publishing some little document relative to the death of Sarpi, found in the archives of the old republic.

A new life and impulse was perhaps given to the spirit of reform—at all events in Lombardy—by the Theological School of Pavia, established, or rather re-organized, by the Emperor Joseph II. in the last century. Certainly the pupils of that school are not now remembered as bigoted Ultramontanes, and the odour of Jansenism is said yet to linger in its neighbourhood. Scipio Ricci, the reforming Bishop of Pistoia in the time of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold, was educated there; so was Tamburini of Bergamo, the ecclesiastical historian; and it is said that the late Bishop Tosi of Pavia, himself the last survivor of the number, has left upon his diocese an impress very favourable to reform.

Then came the first French Revolution and French domination in Italy, roughly, but vigorously re-awakening thought and life throughout its entire extent; and Italy has been, ever since 1815, consciously or unconsciously, engaged in a struggle for *freedom* of every kind—political, social, intellectual, and religious. Finally, the work of *preparation* was perfected by the late revolutions in Italy itself, and the consolidation of the Italian kingdom. The practical *freedom of conscience* which, step by step, accompanied the promulgation of the Sardinian Constitution, opened Italy to the reception and free study of the Word of God, and deprived the Church of the co-operation at least of the civil arm in enforcing her arbitrary mandates of repression.

If one may venture to speak of any individual men as originating great changes of thought and revulsions in action, which have thus been really ripened by the events of generations, it may be possible, in a general way, to say with whom began the *present* movement. *Gioberti* and *Rosmini* undoubtedly sowed the seeds of a new ecclesiastical and religious philosophy, with the fruits of which one is ever and every where coming into contact. The "*Primato*" of the former, and "*Le Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa*" of the latter, have apparently contributed more than all other human causes to direct the thoughts of the better class of the clergy—already alienated from the Pope by his determined hostility to Italian Unity—into new channels. I do not except even the circulation and revived study

of the Bible—if this indeed can be called a human cause—for this itself has been one of the results of this marvellous religious awakening.

In the mean time Rome has herself both prepared and precipitated the actual issue. The bitter hostility with which she has every where set herself against, and sought to compel the clergy to array themselves against, the progress of liberty in Italy, at the very time when that liberty was the fondest hope, the wildest passion of the people, and the necessity of Italian constitutionalism the deepest conviction of her patriots and her statesmen, has literally *forced* an issue which would else, at just this time, have been studiously avoided by all. Men have been compelled to regard the Church of Rome as the enemy of Italy; and thus has been raised, in many a thoughtful mind, the question—so fatal to her spiritual despotism—whether a system at such enmity to their dearest *temporal* interests could be essential to the promotion of their *eternal* good.

Had Rome thoroughly diffused truly *religious* principles among the Italian people,—godly principles such as the character and lives of some men prove can be united even with her dogmatic theology,—there would have been something to bear the strain of such a political and ecclesiastical controversy. But she has not done this. *She has almost utterly destroyed spirituality and a genuine manly piety in Italy.* The specific and principal object which the Church of Rome, as a Church, practically proposes to herself, is not the training of men in virtue, piety, and holiness here, and the

salvation of their souls hereafter; but it is the perpetuation, consolidation, and extension of her own temporal and ecclesiastical domination in the world. To *this* end, instead of labouring to raise men to the holy standard of divine truth, she adapts herself and her standard of holiness and truth to the worldly interests and passions of men, that she may thus enlist them in her service, and make them her slaves. No wonder, then, that she loses all, when her policy, in the midst of a great revolution, is arrayed *against* those interests and passions.

The resulting present religious condition may, then, be thus briefly stated:—

The Papacy has, in the belief of the whole people, clergy and laity, completely identified the Church of Rome with the Church of Christ, and religion itself with conformity to certain rites and observances, and obedience to the Church. As a general thing they know of no other Christianity, no other religion.

Then, by opposing the national movement; by excommunicating their king, not for a moral or religious, but for a political offence; by denouncing the *Statuto* or Constitution of the kingdom, and declaring some of their most important enactments null and void,—the Pope has forced a direct antagonism between their patriotism and such religion. The result is, of course, a moral schism of the intensest character. Almost the entire Episcopate, vassals as they are of the Papacy, with the larger part of the Clergy, whom they hold in like vassalage to themselves, are arrayed against the Nation, the Crown, the Parliament, the People, and such of the

Clergy as are both conscientious and courageous enough to be loyal and patriotic.

Perhaps no more striking illustrations of the revolution in feeling which is taking place are to be found than the cartoons which follow week after week in the humorous journals, and which meet the eye on every side, in the shop-windows and upon the walls. Almost every one of these refers to Rome, the Pope, and the Priesthood; and these have been for years impressing upon the people the one great patriotic truth of the times, that the Papacy, and the Church as governed by it, are thoroughly corrupt, and utterly antagonistic to the true interests of Italy. One of these caricatures issued not long since sadly illustrates this statement. The thought embodied is genuine and reverential: the mode of its representation is by no means so. It represents the Pope occupying a pulpit, on the front of which are inscribed the words, "Go, teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you!" whilst Christ, descending from heaven, seizes the Pope, and orders him to leave the spot whose purpose he had profaned. Beneath the cartoon are the words, "Who most makes war against the divinity of Christ,—Renan with his pamphlet, or the Priests with their ill deeds?" Another is perhaps also worth a brief description. Below, Charon is represented ferrying across the Styx the coffined Papacy—the tiara, over which an owl mounts guard, upon the lid. Above, Italy, as a turret-crowned female figure, leads forward Liberty, who, stretching out her arms, looks

up in an ecstasy of gratitude to heaven ; while Rome, shaking the fetters from her wrists, rushes wildly into her embrace. In the background, Italian soldiers are pressing on towards the Capitol ; and Father Time, seated high on a beetling cliff, under the shadow of which the dead Papacy is borne away, points to the principal group with the words, "Time does justice to all."

Some of these give striking evidence of the substitution of patriotism for religion which is coming over Italy. Such are several which illustrate the popular and blasphemous saying that Garibaldi shall be Italy's Saviour and Christ. I have seen a representation of St. Veronica's handkerchief, on which the face was an unmistakable likeness of Garibaldi, while yet it was treated entirely as an ideal head of Christ. Others in the same spirit are too blasphemous for description.

No wonder, then, that the tendency of the whole laity is towards infidelity, and towards that *contempt* or even *hatred* for the Christian religion itself, which they already entertain for its Priests. The middle and upper classes, and especially the more cultivated, have thrown religion almost utterly aside. They take a *political* interest, indeed, of the most intense kind in *ecclesiastical* questions ; but they habitually regard personal religion as something with which *they* have no concern whatever. With that class who like to style themselves "*Young Italy*," scepticism and avowed infidelity is considered a thing on which to pride them-

selves as an evidence of superior progress and enlightenment. Upon the occasion of the late solemn reception and entombment of the remains of Manin in Venice, an association of *Free Thinkers*, bearing a banner proclaiming their character as such, took their formal place in the procession and ceremonies of the day. In Verona, a propagandist circle of Rationalists have established regular reunions in the old Palazzo Maffei, calling themselves "The New Apostles."

The mass of the lower classes, who know little and care less about the policy of either Church or Government, continue from habit their old accustomed blind devotion to the routine of their religious observances; while they are ready any day, without being at all conscious of any inconsistency, to follow Garibaldi for another assault upon the Pope and Rome.

Under these circumstances the Curia Romana, the Jesuits and their adherents—the entire Papal party, in fact—are exerting the whole power and influence of the Church, by open condemnation and by secret intrigue, to arrest this tide, and to oppose at once both free-thinking and Italian independence. They determinately identify the two; and if no third alternative is found, *either the Church will crush Italy, or Italian patriotism will crush out Christianity.*

The large proportion of the priests of Italy, taken from the lower classes, and trained only in the narrow routine of the seminary, without any of the elements of real intellectual cultivation, have no definite ideas or conscientious convictions on the subject of such a

contest. They have but one thing to do—to say masses enough to earn their living: and they are convinced of but one thing—that if they disobey their Bishop, he can deprive them of the power of saying mass.

But there is yet a third class of priests in the Church of Italy—priests who are both religious and patriotic—who realize the fatal consequences of the hostility of the Church to Italian nationality; and who are profoundly convinced that the Church *must* reconcile her spiritual interests with the temporal interests of Italy, and present to the Italian people a Christianity which will command their respect and reverence, if she would save Italy from general infidelity, and herself from utter overthrow. However different priests and different writers of this class would define their views and aims in detail, assuredly the conviction of almost the entire truly religious section of the Italian priesthood was expressed by a distinguished ecclesiastical dignitary of Florence, when rising at the close of a little conversation on the subject, he summed up all he had said in the words, "*In fine, Signori, è o riforma o rovina!*"

It is not, therefore, so much from an *abstract* as from a *practical* point of view that such men as these have approached or are now approaching the consideration of reform: it has not been the study of the cloisters, but the dangers which publicly threaten Italy and the faith, the echo of resultless debates in the Parliament at Florence, and the angry clash of arms upon the battlefield of Mentana, which have awakened the wisest and best of the priests of Italy to that which is at once the

great political necessity of their country, and the great religious need of their Church. *Let this fact ever be borne in mind in studying the policy and watching the progress of the reform movement in the Church of Italy:* for without it nothing can be clearly comprehended. This movement does not consist in the evolution and application of certain great theological doctrines just strongly recovered by the student; nor, primarily, even in the reaction of the awakened conscience of a people, or of the Church searching for lost truth; but it consists in the effort of practical men, watching the changes going on around them with a certain Christian statesmanship, to provide a remedy for practical evils already seriously felt, and an escape from even greater perils inevitably following.

Remembering this, we shall avoid the danger into which many are falling—of approaching Italy from a direction from which she is not at all disposed to welcome help; of pressing upon her changes for which she is by no means prepared; of asking her attention to new doctrines when her thoughts are all absorbed in immediate and practical questions of discipline. Remembering this, we shall possess the key that explains the brief past and early developments of this movement, and, in a measure, be able to foresee the future yet in store for it. We shall realize why the one great first aim of the reformers is to sever the temporal from the spiritual power of the Papacy, and to solve the perplexing problem (seemingly becoming every where the question of the day) of Church and State; why ques-

tions of discipline occupy all thoughts, and questions of doctrine are not even raised; why the discussion of the temporal power and ecclesiastical autonomy, the election of Bishops and synodical government, take complete precedence; and why clerical celibacy and the confessional, the free circulation of the Bible and worship in the vulgar tongue seem, for the present, to fill up the vista of desired reform.

In fine, bearing in mind these things, we shall be more nearly able to understand how it has pleased God to call into being—how the Holy Spirit is now guiding onward to its end—a primitive reform movement in the ancient Church of Italy.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS.

No sooner was the divergence manifest between the reactionary policy of the Papacy and the national impulse of Italy, than the priesthood was embarrassed by not only a divided but an antagonistic allegiance. Ecclesiastical penalties were promptly visited upon any priest who showed any disposition to respect and obey his own government, or, even in secular matters, preferred the duty of patriotism to any dictum whatever which might come from Rome. The whole Church, from the Episcopate to the humblest country curate, was to be compelled to be a band of organized enemies and traitors to their king, their government, and their country; and if there were any not willing to submit to this, they had need to be either very daring or in some way protected.

As early, therefore, as the year 1857, *Pietro Mongini*, a parish priest at Oggebbio on Lago Maggiore, put forth a proposal for a "*Società di Mutuo Soccorso del Clero*," whose object should be the elevation of the

character and position of the Clergy. What this meant was, however, sufficiently plain: the suggestion was perhaps prematurely bold, and it had no result beyond subjecting its author to suspicion.

In 1859, a *Società Ecclesiastica* was organized in Milan, of which Archdeacon Wordsworth gives some account in his "*Tour in Italy*" (Vol. i. p. 82). The design of this was declared to be—"to promote among its members the cultivation of religious studies, especially those which have a practical influence on the social welfare of the people." To this about two hundred priests of the city and diocese attached themselves; but it was the object of the unceasing hostility of the Vicario Capitolare, who administered the diocese in the vacancy of the See, and of the bitter denunciations of the clerical journals; and after a contest of three or four years it was finally suppressed.

This Milan experiment was followed in 1860 by another, whose immediate object was more openly avowed. This was the organization of certain societies of liberal clergy, united "for the purpose of mutually sustaining each other under Papal and Episcopal persecution for their fidelity to Italy, to their King, and to the Constitution." These first arose in Tuscany and the Modenese, and probably originated with their central President, the learned Florentine theologian, Luigi Crescioli. These Societies were authorized by a formal ordinance of Government, signed by Baron Ricasoli, in the fall of 1860: but upon a change of the Ministry they were abandoned; and the Roman Court, realizing

their importance and power, through the Bishops and by threats of suspension and excommunication, succeeded in suppressing them.

But a freer field for such Societies seemed now opened in South Italy by the revolutions of that fall and the subsequent expulsion of Cardinal Sforza, Archbishop of Naples. Many of the scattered members, therefore, early in 1861, reorganized themselves, as the *Clerico-Liberal-Italian Association*, and established its Central Committee in that city. This Society found Episcopal protection, Monsignore *Michele Caputo*, Bishop of Ariano, cordially accepting the Honorary Presidency. Its President was an earnest, able, and learned priest, Don *Lorenzo Zaccaro*; and, in the summer of 1862, it *claimed* a clerical and lay membership of upwards of 4000 in different parts of the kingdom, including "several Deputies of the Italian Parliaments, whole Chapters of Cathedral Churches, heads of religious orders, canons, rectors and curates, philosophers, divines, scientific men, orators," &c.

It is difficult to say what was probably the sober value of this claim; but when it is remembered, on the one hand, that this Society had not separated itself at first from any thing but the *political* policy of Rome; and on the other, the facility with which most of the classes referred to amiably give their names or consent to be members of any Society asking it—so long as it does not involve them in any difficulty, or commit them to any thing to which they are decidedly opposed—it seems quite possible that it may not have been wholly

without foundation. But there is reason to believe that the membership of this Society was of the most miscellaneous character; embracing, on the part of some, as much willingness to oppose even the truth that is still held by their Church, as, on the part of others, a discriminating desire to correct and reform it of its errors. It had, however, enlisted in its service considerable ability and some genuine and earnest principle; and, during an existence of nearly two years, it certainly fulfilled, in the hands of Providence, a valuable transition instrumentality.

The programme of this Society at its origin was simply the reconciliation of the Church and Italy, on the basis of the Papal renunciation of the temporal power, and of such moral and practical reforms as any Tridentine theologian might consistently admit to be demanded by the theory of the Church. But the prosecution of this programme led the *Committee*, step by step, perhaps unwittingly, into clearer light, to a truer knowledge and appreciation of the distinction between Roman and genuine Catholicity, and a stronger yearning for the return of their own Church to the latter standard; until that body and its influence, and to some extent even the Society itself, arrived ultimately at a position and at aims substantially Primitive.

The means through which the Clerico-Liberal Association exerted this influence, aside from such as were purely personal, were twofold—the *pulpit* and the *press*.

Almost from the organization, the Committee published a journal as its organ, "*La Colonna di Fuoco*"

(The Pillar of Fire). It was under the immediate charge of the President, *Zaccaro*, and the Director, *Felice Barilla*, an able Neapolitan advocate and expriest; and it was issued bi-weekly until June, 1862, and after that date daily.

The *Colonna* early took its stand upon at least two principles—viz. the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope, and the full and free restoration of the Scriptures to the laity; but before the end of the year, it had fairly begun to grapple with other issues more advanced. A leading article in the number for Dec. 23, 1861, drew a strong contrast between Jesuitism and Protestantism—i. e. between unlimited ecclesiastical despotism, and equally unchecked religious individualism—as the two extremes, neither of which is truly Italian, but midway between which the Italian Church “ought to return to the simple, popular, and truly Catholic forms of the ancient Church.” “Let the golden times of the Leos, Ambroses, and Augustines be restored!” was their cry.

On the subject of the reading and study of the Bible, the *Colonna* gave no uncertain sound. A series of articles upon this and cognate subjects, addressed chiefly to the priests by the Director Barilla, was published during February and March, 1862; for which the demand was so great as to cause their subsequent collection and publication in pamphlet form, under the title of “*La Lettura della Bibbia.*” The first of this series boldly charges all the social, moral, and theological corruptions in the Church, alike of people and priests, to ignorance of the Bible. In another article,—in which

it is to be noted that the words Romanism and Catholicism are applied, *in contradistinction*, to the corrupt and to the primitive elements of their Church,—Barilla points out how this neglect of the Word of God has betrayed the priesthood into preaching false doctrine, and made it “the ministry, not of Christ, but of Satan.” Still later, the *Colonna* added another specific article to their programme, by the full, clear, and strong condemnation of compulsory clerical celibacy, confessing the corruption of the Romish priesthood, and avowing that the Anglican clergy were the most moral in the world, precisely because they are free in the choice of marriage or celibacy.

The editors of the *Colonna* were evidently profiting by their own training; and in May, 1862, one who had conversed frankly with several members of the Committee wrote,—

“They also fully contemplate that the abolition of the temporal power must be inevitably followed by extensive reforms within the Church; a thorough purgation they look upon as absolutely needful for its preservation; but they think it wiser to work, for the present, for the abolition of the temporal power, and feel sure the rest will follow.”

The Abbé Guettée, speaking of this Association in the *Union Chrétienne*, paid the *Colonna* this tribute: “Its programme of a *Return to Primitive Catholicity* is developed with great Scriptural erudition, and an ample knowledge of the ancient Fathers and other monuments of the Church.”

The opportunity for advocating their cause from the *pulpit* was secured to the Society, in Naples and the neighbourhood, by their Bishop-President, Monsignore Caputo. This prelate was also Chaplain-General of the old kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and, as such, had jurisdiction over all the army and navy chaplains, and over all the royal churches and chapels (and such, among others, were the churches of the Monastic Orders which had reverted to the Crown) in South Italy,—privileges in which, by a bull of Benedict XIV., he had been made independent of the Archbishop of Naples. The Archbishop having, therefore, forbidden the pulpits of his province to all the clergy of the Clerico-Liberal Association, Bishop Caputo, *with the approval of the Government*, opened to them the Royal churches under his authority, of which there were seven in the city of Naples alone.

Upon April 2nd, 1862, the *Colonna* was able to announce the ablest preachers of the Society, for the remainder of the then current *Quaresima*, at San Francesco di Paolo, at the Royal Chapel of Caserta, at the Royal Chapel of Portici, &c. Some of these men were really eloquent, and certainly the temper of their discourses was popular. They daily gathered large and ever-increasing throngs, especially in Naples itself; until, says an English clergyman, "it was difficult to hear at the outside of the crowd which formed a ring round the pulpit." The same correspondent adds, speaking of San Francesco di Paolo,—

"I heard the opening sermon and one other, just

before we left. The preacher was a very energetic, eloquent young priest; his discourses were rather fervent, patriotic addresses, calculated to win popular sympathy to their cause, than regular sermons; but his opening words were striking:—‘Whenever I study the Sacred Scriptures, I pray to God to give me His Spirit to open my heart to understand and receive their teaching, and to enable me to impress it upon others.’ I think good must come from such a beginning.”

The young preacher thus spoken of was a Dominican friar, whose name has since become well known in connexion with this movement. It was *Luigi Prota*.

The Society, moreover, published in the summer of 1862, through its Central Committee, a long Memorial to the Pope, in which was set forth in language which, if used by Protestants, would be regarded as most calumnious, the condition to which the Church has been reduced by its corruptions in doctrine, worship, and discipline; and they implore the Pope not only to relinquish the temporal power, but to lay aside also his spiritual autocracy; and, by becoming himself a primitive Bishop and Patriarch, and by restoring the Church, the Spouse of Christ, to her primitive simplicity and holiness, to regain for her the power over the hearts and consciences of men, and the moral influence in the affairs of the world, which she had lost. This Memorial was said to have received thousands of signatures; and though it did not probably have much effect upon the Pope, it may not unlikely have had some influence upon the priesthood and the people. This last step

certainly warranted the language of the Abbé Guettée : —“In Southern Italy, they no longer waste their energies in a contest with the temporalities ; they boldly confront the question of the spiritual domination of the Pope.”

At this juncture, upon the 6th of September, Bishop Caputo was taken from his post by death ; but, to borrow the words of the *Colonial Church Chronicle* in making the announcement, “the principle which he represented survives and waxes mightier. To this Bishop of Ariano, however, belongs an honour which can descend to no other prelate—that of having been the first Italian Bishop who, in these days, has braved the terrors of the Papal censure.”

The last scene was a sacredly touching episode in the story of Italian Reform. It is said, that three Bishops were sent by the Pope to his bedside to induce him —to compel him to recant. He refused all retraction, however vague and general in form. As the end drew near, they made ready for the administration of the Sacrament, exhorting him to reconcile himself with Rome as a pre-requisite of its reception ; but on the other hand, should he finally refuse, threatening him with excommunication in the hour of death. The dying Reformer, gathering up his last strength, replied :—“If you deny me the Body and Blood of my Saviour here, I go where He will Himself spread it before me, in a better world !”

His firmness conquered : one of the three Bishops, Monsignore Mucedola of Conversano,—now himself no

more,—disregarding the remonstrances of the others, administered to him the Holy Sacrament, and all the accustomed consolations of the Church; and was ever after suspected of having been himself won over at least to sympathy with the principles he was thus sent to denounce.

Bishop Michele Caputo has thus left a name behind him worthy of remembrance—worthy of a loving reverence. The Papal journals chronicled his death with taunts and coarse abuse: let ours be the language of thanksgiving unto God “for the good example of this His servant, who, having finished his course in faith, now rests from his labours;” for this name, which He thus reserved to Himself, even in Sardis: let ours be that of prayer that a double portion of his spirit may yet rest upon many others of the Italian Episcopate.

The death of Bishop Caputo deprived the Clerico-Liberal Association of protection. Unfortunately, the *Colonna*, since becoming a daily, had given more attention to political than to ecclesiastical and religious subjects; and had thus at once provoked increased hostility and lost moral power. Sixty-eight Bishops of the Neapolitan Provinces united in publishing a paper condemning that journal, threatening their flocks with severe penalties for even reading it, and prohibiting membership of the Association and subscription to the *Colonna* under pain of suspension *a divinis*, and denial of Christian burial in case of death. There is also reason to believe that they supplemented this step by sending secret emissaries to foment jealousies and

sow discord among the members of the Committee. It was thought best to yield to the storm; the Association was dissolved, the *Colonna* passed into other hands, and was soon after entirely discontinued.

Zaccaro with his friends made an ineffectual attempt, early in 1863, to organize a new society, and to establish another journal; and this failing, we hear of him no more among the Neapolitan reformers. Luigi Prota, however,—a man of greater abilities and determination,—now came forward and undertook the task with more success. To this new society, its new leader and its journal, reference will be made at another time.

Another attempt which attracted far more attention at the time, with even less result—of which something must be said—was that inaugurated by *Carlo Passaglia*. There is, however, no occasion to be otherwise than brief: it was a great promise, nothing more. Rome estimated the nine thousand signatures attached to his petition more correctly than the world. Rome knew that they represented no moral earnestness and determination; and the calm, stern order for the immediate suspension *a divinis* and excommunication of every ecclesiastic, Monsignore, Parocco, or Curato, who did not at once withdraw his signature and recant, dissipated that fair array of petitioners with marvellous rapidity.

When this Memorial was circulated over Italy for signatures, the movement appeared a popular, at all events a safe, and perhaps a profitable one. Its author was *the* great theologian of the Roman Church, and had been the chosen friend of the Pope and champion

of the new dogma of 1854; the object of the petition was in harmony with the popular passion of the day; the Italian Government had promised to indemnify all who might suffer ecclesiastical penalties in consequence; and, finally, it might possibly accomplish something. But when the nine thousand signatures had been collected and published, Ricasoli had been succeeded by Rattazzi; the new Ministry declined to fulfil the promise of its predecessors; Passaglia proved himself to be only a theologian, no leader of a party, and utterly incapable of marshalling the host he had assembled. Rome was firm and resolute: it was a simple question of starving for a principle; and there are very few Italian priests, however much they might sympathize with the national cause, that had *any* principles more powerful than the duty of taking care of themselves. So while they signed by hundreds in the spring, with equal promptitude they recanted again by hundreds in the summer; and the whole story is written in the record of one year, 1862.

Every failure is an injury to any cause: otherwise nothing came of a great movement at which the world looked on in the conviction that it might be the beginning of a revolution. Passaglia himself has fallen wholly into obscurity. It is both confidently asserted and positively denied that he also has recanted, and been reconciled to Rome; and the truth is probably not to be ascertained. If he has done so, he has been allowed to do so secretly; and that he has done so secretly, is not at all unlikely.

CHAPTER III.

ITALY AS A FIELD FOR RELIGIOUS REFORM.

BEFORE passing to speak of the men, the instrumentalities, and the measures which now characterize the reform movement within the Italian Church, something must first be said of the field as it has thus far been prepared for it.

Thus much, at all events, is favourable. Politically speaking, Italy at last is *free*. No land can be really so, where Romanism has dominant moral power; but if Italy's sons are but one half as much in earnest in renouncing the spiritual despotism whose unscrupulous ambition was the cause of their long degradation and subjection to a foreign power, as they were in driving out that power itself, there is no arm to stay them. If there is in the Italian Church the lofty principle, the steady determination, and the self-devotion necessary, that Church *will be reformed*: the rest is only a question of the difficulties to be overcome, and the length of time required. If there be not these, it remains to be seen

how far God will use unworthy instruments for the accomplishment of such a purpose.

This one fact makes a reformation possible, and deprives of all their force those arguments against the hopefulness of the present movement, which are drawn from the cruel story of the sixteenth century. Had Pius IX. a Caraffa's fierce bigotry, he does not wield a Caraffa's power.

Again, the progress of Italian nationality has exacted great ecclesiastical changes; and the political policy of the Government has, in some most important respects, providentially prepared the way for reformation.

In the fundamental Statuto of the kingdom, perfect freedom of conscience is guaranteed to every Italian subject; and the foundation is thus laid not only for every intellectual and political greatness, but for the elevation of Italy's moral character; and of course this provision involves the permission of the free circulation of the Scriptures, for studying which none shall again be thrown into the prisons of the State or driven from Italy. The suppression of the Monastic orders, required to put an end to idleness and to restore thousands to the producing classes of the people, as well as for financial reasons, also deprived Rome of her most efficient instrumentality for influencing and indeed governing the populace, and maintaining the reign of ignorance and superstition. The Civil Marriage Bill—judicially and explicitly declared to be applicable to priests—has removed all *legal* sanction to a principle which separates the clergy from society, aims to shut out from their

hearts all human sympathies and social affections, and to bind them in subjection to arbitrary hierarchical control. Finally, in successive measures to provide for financial need, the State is steadily appropriating the vast riches of the Church, and not only depriving her in a measure of her power of evil, but drawing towards the time when, the ministrations of religion becoming at last dependent upon the sympathy and support of the laity, her ministers will be forced to win their respect and reverence. The cry of profanation is a specious one to raise; but the profanation is rather that of a Church who employs God's trust for *ungodly* purposes, than that of a State who applies it to worthy, though perhaps not the holiest ends.

There remains but one thing more for the Italian Government to do: to give up the nomination of the Bishops of the Church, and restore that right—*not to the Pope*, for that would be to wrong the Church itself, and to clothe the bitterest enemy of Italy with an even greater power to injure her;—*but to the clergy and faithful laity of the several dioceses concerned*. Let the Government of Italy but once do this, and the State, as such, will have done all it need for the promotion of reform. Let the clergy and the Christian laity do the rest.

We turn to the other side of the picture when we come to speak of the condition of the Church. Never, surely, has human ingenuity better succeeded in establishing a supreme and absolute despotism over thought and conscience, life and energy. The Bishops have

been nominated by the Crown, and accepted by the Pope; but of course only thus accepted when the nominees are such as will carry out the ends of Rome. And of late, after the accumulation of a large number of vacancies, the Ricasoli ministry, in what I cannot but call the terrible mistake of 1866, permitted Rome to fill them up again wholly without reference to the State. But however nominated, before entering upon their office, they are required to take an oath of abject submission and obedience to the Pope; and, as may readily be supposed, only such are admitted to the Episcopate as are willing for the sake of the dignity and power thus to make vassals of themselves. As a general thing the Italian Bishops are therefore men of little force of character, little learning, and no independence; mere puppets in the hands of the Roman Curia, and petty despots over all within their power.

Of the clergy, we can form no opinion drawn from our home experience. It is a rare thing if any belonging to the better classes devotes himself to the Church. In general the priesthood is recruited from the sons of peasants and poor artisans, who to escape manual toil enter the seminaries, and thence take sacred orders, purely as a business in which they can earn a living less laboriously than in their native sphere. In the seminaries they receive only a formal, antiquated, routine training, which stunts rather than cultivates the powers of thought. With no learning beyond a certain narrow circle assigned to them, and no love of study, and without any suspicion of their ignorance, removed from their

own families, and cut off, by an enforced celibacy, from every softening domestic tie, they become, in the words of an Italian correspondent from whom this statement is almost verbally taken, "the parasites of society, when they are not its scourge."

If an Italian priest be an exception to this rule—as of course there *are* many exceptions, men sprung from cultivated families or of nature's worthier nobility—and he should venture to think for himself, to study, to ponder upon the evils which oppress the Church and demoralize his countrymen; and if then such an one should pray for light and guidance, and attempt to labour for a better state of things, or even if he be suspected of so doing, it is within the power of his Bishop, without trial or appeal, without accusation even or reason given, arbitrarily to suspend him *ex informata conscientia*, and if he does not submit, to excommunicate him. Thus he can be at once, without opportunity of defence and without remedy, cut off from all further exercise of his ministry, and from the power of influencing his fellow-priests, and reduced probably to *absolute want*.

Nor is there any moral support from the laity, against this enslaving tyranny, for either priest or Bishop. As men, the laity despise them; as tools of Rome, they hate them; and as ministers of religion, they are either utterly indifferent to them, and to all their aims and all their interests, or if they reverence them as priests at all, it is only as they adhere closely to the authorized routine. There are no religious *principles*, as a rule, even on the part of those who mean

to fulfil their religious duties, to appeal to. Rome has trained the people to lay little stress on moral virtue, none on truthfulness; and she does not seem herself to know the difference between ecclesiastical sentimentalism and genuine *spirituality*.

This is a dark picture, but a true one; and yet there is hope.

The clergy who lead the way in even the discussion of reform—when such is the position in which they are placed—must be men who combine with an unusual degree of conscientiousness and a lofty principle, a clear conviction both of the justice and of the overwhelming importance of their cause, more or less confidence in the future, courage, and self-devotion. They must be willing, if need be, to risk the loss of every thing themselves, for the sake of those who come after them.

And there are such men: many of the best and noblest in such positions, that they ought not yet to be named publicly. Such men have been already driven from the Church, and more of them will yet be. If their number seem comparatively few as yet, every year, as the light spreads, it will guide others to join their brethren.

And there are not only exceptions among the clergy, but also in the *Episcopate*. There has already been a Caputo; there will be others equally faithful in due time; and meanwhile there are dioceses where the Bishop, if timid, is at least no enemy to reform; there are others where age and inefficiency at least afford a

measure of protection; and still others vacant, where the provisional authority may venture to be more favourable, to say the least, than a Bishop could well be.

And there *are* lay exceptions too—Christian men of means, of talents, of position, or of influence, coming forward, one by one, to hold up the hands, and to encourage, and even to labour with the reforming priests for their common Church and their common Italy.

And for the rest—when we contrast these few, scattered, and bright exceptions, especially of the clergy, with the masses of their brethren on every side around them—we may well recount the difficulties and trials and persecutions which beset the pathway of reform, with a feeling of sympathy, but not of unmingled regret, much less of discouragement.

For when we consider what a work of elimination must in some way be accomplished *in the priesthood itself*, what a mass of worthless material there is to be gotten rid of, which would float along upon the tide of an easy reformation into the ministry and government of the future; when we remember that a reformed Church needs a reformed priesthood worthy of their sacred trust, and that gold must be refined from out such dross as by fire,—it is fairly questionable whether the field for reform in Italy does not, after all, present an aspect fully as favourable as is consistent with the great necessity of training by labour, by trials, by suffering, by patience, and by faith, those who can alone thus be fitted to be priests and Bishops of a Reformed Italian Church.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY LEADERS OF REFORMING THOUGHT IN NORTH ITALY.

WHILE the Clerico-Liberal Association and the *Colonna* were, in South Italy, gradually discovering the necessary connexion between their patriotism and a reform of the Church in something more than the abolition of the temporal power, the leaders, of whom we have just spoken—or at least the men who were to do the *first* thinking, and give the first real impulse to the movement—were beginning to appear in other parts of the kingdom.

I have not been able to find any evidence of an open, published advocacy of any specific *religious* reform in the Church, of an earlier date than the issue of the remarkable work of Monsignore *Tiboni*, "*La Secolarizzazione della Bibbia*." This was in 1861.

Long before this, indeed, Canonico *Reali* had been forced to fly from Rome to escape the consequences of his avowed opinions concerning the Monastic Orders and the Jesuits. Already was Count *Tasca*, lately returned from exile, engaged in efforts to make his neighbours

and fellow-countrymen acquainted with the great truths of pure religion and the principles of the English Church. Already had Parocco *Mongini*, strong in the devotion of his parish on Lago Maggiore, begun a bold warfare with the Pope, by denouncing the use of arms to defend his temporal possessions. But *Tiboni's* able pamphlet was a first stroke from an ecclesiastical dignitary retaining his important post in the Church, aimed full at the reform which must needs underlie all others—the necessity of the free circulation and study of the Word of God.

During this and the following year, *Mongini's* position became more and more advanced as pamphlet after pamphlet carried the contest with Rome forward into the realms of real reform. *Realì* wrote and published two of his profoundly thoughtful works. Count *Tasca* accepted the agency of the Anglo-Continental Society, and prosecuted his devoted labours with more system and greater efficiency. *Perfetti's* eloquent pen was enlisted in the same cause; and finally that irrepressible priest, *Don Ambrogio*, once driven from his little parish by the sentence of excommunication, began to preach the great truths of the Gospel, and to denounce the corruptions of Rome, in the piazzas and under the porticos of Turin, upon the steps of the Milan Cathedral, or wherever men would gather to hear him, with ever-increasing clearness and power.

Many other names of less note are of course found in looking over letters of this period, or are referred to by the reformers in retrospective conversations; and

although prior to 1864 there was no co-operation between them, nor any consciousness of labouring for a joint result, yet at this time, and by these men, the reform movement was fairly begun.

No one can read Archdeacon Wordsworth's *Journal of his "Tour in Italy,"* undertaken in 1862, or the "*Letter of an English Churchman,*" prefixed to the second edition of this work, and dated September 1863, without realizing that profound changes were already, at that period, really going on in the Church of Italy, and even a more radical revolution in the temper of Italian society. The religious press was bitterly and intolerantly ultramontane, and the secular press dealt exclusively with the politico-ecclesiastical aspects of the contest between Italy and the Papacy; but the language of the latter was characterized by a very "uncatholic" freedom and boldness; and, although it did not interest itself directly in the subject of religious reform, yet it gave abundant proof that Italians were rapidly progressing, under the inspiration of patriotic passions and their own training, in shaking off all practical belief in Papal infallibility, and readiness and determination to think for themselves.

The first three years of this still current decade was, then, a brief initial period, during which a few isolated men—two in Lombardy, two in Piedmont, and two in Tuscany, and all but one under the ban of the Church—without concert of action, unknown to each other, and each acting upon the impulse of his own conscience; each in his own way, yet almost simultaneously, pro-

claimed the need of a reform in the Italian Church, and sought to awaken the convictions of their brethren.

As the influence exerted at this stage of this movement (save the exceptional instances of Don Ambrogio and Count Tasca, to whom fuller reference will be made hereafter) was due chiefly to the labours of a few writers whose pamphlets now began to circulate and attract some attention in North and Central Italy, this will be an appropriate place to give some account of these men. Dignity of social rank and venerable years alike entitle Monsignore PIETRO EMILIO TIBONI to the first mention. As long ago as 1853, the publication of a thick volume upon *Biblical Mysticism*—a thorough discussion of the genuineness, authenticity, inspiration, and canonicity of the Holy Scriptures, together with an examination into the principles of sacred hermeneutics—revealed a profound and devout student of the Bible. When, in 1861, he published his well-known and remarkable "*Secolarizzazione della Bibbia*," in which he proved that the Bible was designed for all, and ably defended the duty of giving it freely to the laity, he was at once recognized as a leader of reforming thought within the Church. This last work, I believe, cost him his position at the head of the Diocesan Theological Seminary, which he had held nearly twenty-five years; but he yet retains his Canonry.

Monsignore Tiboni is a man of great refinement, of thorough theological learning, in which indeed he is probably first of all the reformers; and not only of gentle and tender affections, but of rare spirituality,

and of a genuine Catholicity of *spirit* unusual even among those who are much farther advanced in their doctrinal views.

Would it could be hoped that the ripe years of this most truly reverend divine might be prolonged to see at least the dawn upon his Church of that age of restored truth and purity and holiness for which he yearns!

The most widely known, perhaps, of these early writers, is Professore EUSEBIO REALI, formerly a Canon of St. John Lateran at Rome, and now occupying the Chair of the Philosophy of Civil and Canon Law at the University of Siena.

His writings are marked by depth of thought, and have treated more of ecclesiastical and educational subjects, than of such as are strictly religious. He is an elderly man now; a man of learning, of a philosophical stamp of mind, of great disinterestedness, modesty, and self-devotion; uniting a certain childlikeness with a quiet dignity of manners. Almost too retiring, he possesses many other qualities of a leader; but it would be by the influence of his writings and counsel, rather than by personal prominence.

His escape from Rome, many years ago, was made necessary by the publication of a pamphlet against the religious orders of the Church, in which he went so far as to declare that membership of the "*Society of Jesus*" should be punished as a *civil crime*. In conjunction with Cardinal *D'Andrea* and Monsignore *Liverani*, he published in 1861 "*La Curia Romani e i Gesuiti*;" in 1867, he put forth an able paper, "*Del*

Riordinamento Scolastico del Regno d'Italia," and also a pamphlet, "*La Chiesa e Lo Stato*," apropos to Ricasoli's attempt to solve that perplexing problem.

No man among the reformers is more profoundly intellectual, of worthier personal character, or more entirely reliable; none more single-minded; few as clearly understand whither the reform movement is progressing, or have as enlightened and truly Catholic views.

FILIPPO PERFETTI is a man of somewhat different character. He was formerly Secretary to Cardinal Marini, President of the Ghislieri College, and Librarian of the University of Rome; but his opinions, political or religious or both, made his flight necessary, some eight years since, and secured his suspension, if not excommunication. His published writings have been noted for greatness of thought, eloquence of language, and earnestness of spirit, and have been most telling in their effect. Of these, those bearing upon reform are, "*Delle Nuove Condizioni del Papato*," "*Ricordi di Roma*," and "*Il Clero e la Società*," the latter a most forcible and eloquent picture of the alienation of society from the sacred Ministry. Besides these he has published a discussion of the principles of liberty—" *Della Libertà*," and "*L'Uomo*," a work on the moral nature of man.

Perfetti now occupies a Professorship at the University of Perugia, where I found him very early one morning last summer (1867) engaged upon some new work in advocacy of reform. He is a man of warm and deep feelings rather than of profound thought—of

strong affections rather than calm, cold convictions. He lives quite retired in Perugia, aloof from his co-workers in the same cause, and seems to know very little of the degree to which the principles so dear to him are spreading in Italy. He spoke with great despondency and hopelessness; and when I pointed to his manuscript, and asked why then he was so occupied, he answered that his opinions and feelings about the probable success of any religious cause, did not alter his duty to do what he could, and leave the result to God.

PIETRO MONGINI, for thirty-five years Parroco of Oggebbio, on the Lago Maggiore, is a man who has evidently had fewer advantages than either of those already named, but is of strong natural abilities, vigorous logical powers, and thoroughly independent, bold even to rashness, and entirely self-poised. He is thoroughly honest, clear-headed, and sincere, and of unimpeachable private character; but his scheme of reform seems as yet scarcely to rise above political, ecclesiastical, and moral considerations; and it must be confessed that he sometimes prosecutes it in a manner too roughly polemical to persuade or influence those from whom he differs. But with whatever defects, Mongini wields a vigorous pen; and he is never afraid to follow his own strong logic wherever it may lead him, nor to speak out very openly what he thinks. Beginning in 1860 with merely denying the right of the Pope to use temporal arms in defence of his spiritual power, he went on, until in 1866, in the title of his *tenth* pamphlet, he

declared the Pope "the most astute and the most dangerous enemy of Italy and of Civil Nations."

The story of Mongini is so well given in the Report of the Anglo-American Nice Committee for 1867, that I cannot do better than to quote it here. It includes, moreover, a very touching anecdote of a conversation with that noble Italian statesman D'Azeglio, which, it seems, determined Mongini in his course; and it well illustrates the progress referred to in the opening sentence.

"How the mind of an Italian Reformer," says this Report, "has, not unfrequently, been first roused by the political aspect of the questions between Rome and his country, and then gradually been led on to further and clearer ideas of the need of reformation, the following extract from a letter of Parroco Cavaliere Mongini (of Oggebbio, Lago Maggiore) will show:—'I shall ever remember (he writes in No. XI. of this year's *Esaminatore*) a saying of Massimo D'Azeglio's in a letter which he wrote to me September, 1858. We were treating of a little project of mine for a mutual Benefit Society among the Priests, with the view of elevating their moral decorum to the level of the times. D'Azeglio thus wrote: "Your idea is excellent; but the first condition of moral decorum is to detach yourselves openly from the politics of Rome." I noted the word *openly*, and afterwards, as we were conversing one time on the banks of Lago Maggiore, I observed to him that we, poor priests, must use prudence. And, do you know what he answered me—witty and gently keen as

he was? These were his precise words, "Ay, in fact, that poor Christ moves one's pity, for it was through this *imprudence* He was nailed to the Cross;" and then he looked at me from the corner of his eye, twisting his beard. Believe me, Signor Esaminatore, my face became red, and from thenceforward I swore to detach myself openly from Rome, and I set myself to write.'

"His first writings were earnest and bold appeals to the Pope to lay aside his temporal power. For the scandal and irritation wrought by Rome's political opposition to the unity of his country led this priest, and many of his fellows, to see and bemoan the ever-widening alienation of the minds of their thoughtful laity from Rome's religion as well as her politics. But Rome had no mind to heed such appeals from her clergy, so she put Mongini's and such like books in the Index, and summoned him to Rome to recant. He was too wise thus to entrust himself to the Holy Office, which, as he well knew, would silence voice and pen. So he contented himself with honest, earnest, yet respectful replies, showing he had attacked no dogmas and entered on no purely spiritual questions; and thus denied that the ecclesiastical authorities had any right to punish him. Rome replied by solemnly launching at him the major excommunication, and warning all the faithful to hold aloof from his ministrations.

"At that moment the Government of Italy were not indisposed to stand by a patriotic priest, and, at Mongini's instance, refused the Royal Exequatur to this bull of excommunication, which consequently could not

legally take effect in Italy. Mongini, denying its justice and moral force, boldly continued to officiate for two years, and many of his parishioners stood by him. It is not to be wondered at that many of the surrounding clergy were timid. Thus matters went on till on one of those occasions when the Government desired to show their conciliatory spirit towards Rome, the Bishop of Novara had influence enough to get Mongini withdrawn from his parish, on the Government's appointing him to a post connected with the ecclesiastical chest, and a locum tenens was placed at Oggelbio, though Mongini has not been actually deprived of his parish. Now he writes to urge all his brother clergy who have been smitten, or threatened, with censures evidently unjust, to do as he did, stand firm in the exercise of their ministry, and not allow themselves to be understood as feeling smitten at all. 'This behaviour,' he says, 'puts Rome with all her sectaries in great thought; for,' he adds, 'understand once for all, that Rome fears 100 courageous Priests more than an army of 100,000 Zouaves.' He urges the formation of 'an Association of all Priests and Laymen favourable to Reformation, for the purpose of considering and working it out in the best manner possible, in view of the present order of things in Italy, and outside of Italy.' He urges the need of spreading reformation ideas through all classes and by every possible agency, by individual efforts, public lectures, popular works, rousing the political papers to take up the question, and in short, by every means likely to influence and form public opinion. It is not

wonderful that such outspoken boldness should have alarmed some of his more cautious and timid readers, as it has done."

In comparing the various publications of these four writers, the early leaders of reforming thought at least in North and Central Italy, we cannot but be struck by the complementary nature of their several distinguishing characteristics: as though Providence had openly assigned to them, total strangers to each other though they were, their several parts in one single work of initiation. *Tiboni's* writings are remarkable for devout and reverential learning; *Realì's* for philosophic thought; *Perfetti's* for eloquence, feeling, and knowledge of the human heart; *Mongini's* for a rough and vigorous logic, and unhesitating boldness.

But there appeared, about this time, not a few other publications of various kinds, which exerted an influence entirely in harmony with those just named. Indeed, some of these contributed by no means an unimportant co-operation in this present work of awakening a conviction of the absolute necessity of a thorough reform, although their authors are not *themselves* to be classed with what may possibly by this time be almost called the Reform party in the Italian Church.

Among the earliest of these publications is that very remarkable little work of Count Terenzio Mamiani, "*Rinascenza Cattolica*." It is a story whose supposed epoch is a few years ahead of its real issue. The author supposes himself to be a missionary just returning to Rome from a long imprisonment in Japan, which had

kept him in ignorance of the changes which had taken place in Italy and in the Church. He finds the King of Italy established on the Quirinal, her Parliament meeting at the Capitol. The temporal power has been freely renounced, the Church purified from worldliness; and the Pope, elected by the clergy and the people, is established at the Vatican, ruling the Church according to her own sacred laws, in perfect harmony with the State, and strong in the reverence and affection of the faithful. In this vein the author sketches an outline of what he conceives to be necessary reforms in the Church, including the free *election* of the Bishops by the clergy and the people, and such a complete re-inspiration of the whole system of the Papacy with love, joy, peace, with pure morality and holiness, that Archdeacon Wordsworth may well term it—as he does—a “romantic vision of an imaginary future.”

This work derives double importance from the fact that its author, eminent as a writer and a philosopher, was a member of the Pope's own Cabinet, in the days of lay ministers and reform at Rome, and subsequently Minister of Public Instruction in the Cavour Cabinet at Turin. Quite lately, as we shall see, he has associated himself with the reformers.

Another brochure, which attracted so much attention at the time that it cannot but have made some lasting impression, appeared about the beginning of 1861. As it seems to have wholly disappeared already, and I have never seen it, I speak of it only from memory of the accounts of others.

It was a story of St. Peter's revisit, in our own days, to Rome, where the Pope calls him the Prince of the Apostles, and claims to derive all his authority from him. The amazement of the Apostle at the condition in which he finds his own Church; his vain search for the Biblical standard of sacred truth among both priests and people; his earnest remonstrances with priests and Bishops for some things, and his stern rebuke of the Pope on account of others, for which they triumphantly quote the authority of some of his successors against his own written words; and finally the arrest and imprisonment of the Apostle in St. Angelo, for preaching to the people, and enjoining on them the study of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, copies of which he had himself furnished them:—these were some of the telling points of this strange little work.

Among these publications is especially noteworthy "*Il Papato, l'Imperio e il Regno d'Italia*," by Monsignore *Francesco Liverani*, Canon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, and Domestic Prelate and Protonotary of the Holy See. This is a striking confession of the corruption in discipline and morals of the Roman Church and Clergy. Distinguishing between the ideal and the actual Roman Catholic Church, and with all reverence for the former, the author sets forth in strong and earnest language the disgraceful, false, and corrupt characteristics of the latter, on account of which the Church is losing its hold upon the conscience of the people, just in proportion to their knowledge of what her degenerate monks, priests, and hierarchy have made her.

Monsignore Liverani has, however, more sadly illustrated the effect of these things in his own course than in this book. Deprived of his rank and excommunicated, he has accepted the status of a layman, and takes no further interest in the Church or in religious issues.

Again, deserving of citation is a letter of Professore *Girolamo Bobone* to Passaglia, published, both in its original Latin and in Italian, in pamphlet form. This is an able patriotic and historical argument in condemnation of the policy which subordinates the spiritual duties to the temporal interests of the Papacy. The tone and spirit of this letter are thoroughly illustrated by those noble words of Cardinal Giuliano to Eugenius IV., which the writer here quotes: "If you had even the certainty of losing Rome and all the patrimony of the Church, you ought to provide for the faith and for the souls for which our Lord Jesus Christ died, rather than for the fortresses and walls of the city. One single soul is more dear to Christ, not only than the temporal patrimony of the Church, but than even heaven and earth."

Professore Bobone—suspended, of course—still retains, however, the Chair of Hebrew and Biblical Hermeneutics at the University of Siena, where he is associated with Reali in his interest in reform.

Besides these writings of living men, there was issued a few years ago a new Italian edition of Guicciardini's *History*, in which was restored his striking story of the origin and growth of the Papal power, which Roman censors had not permitted to appear in previous editions.

Other remarks of the historian upon the same subject, have also been published in his "*Opere Inedite*," edited since by Canestrini.

The same publishers—Barbera of Florence—have also brought out an edition of the remains of Fra Paolo Sarpi, edited by the Abate Perfetti.

Of another work, more remarkable in some respects than any of these—the first part of a "History of the Popes" by Doctor *Stanislao Bianciardi*, published in 1861—an account will be given in another place. As an evidence of the extent to which the thoughts of thinking men were, almost simultaneously, turning towards reform, and especially as the result of the study of a *layman*, it should be cited here; but as the cause of its author's future prominent relations with the movement, it will be more appropriately taken up again in another connexion.

Such writings as these contributed, in no slight degree perhaps, to arrest the attention of some, and to direct the thoughts and fix the shaken principles of others, of the more truly devout among either the priests or laity; but until the close of the year 1863 there was no bond of unity between these men, no centre of influence representing these several aspirations and efforts.

CHAPTER V.

CLASSIFICATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

THUS far the development of reforming tendencies and convictions among the clergy and others of the Church of Italy has been sketched with some regard to the order of events; and the early story has thus been rapidly brought down to the close of the year 1863.

From the beginning of 1864 to the present time, no further special epoch has been reached as yet. The materials for forming such judgment as we may concerning the movement, its moral strength and principles, its trials, hopes, and fears, are found scattered over the quiet story of the four or five years past; and a far better understanding of the present status of the reform party will be derived from a review, severally, of some of its different agencies and developments, than from an attempt to pursue, year by year, the account of a movement of which we yet know only the more open manifestations.

Before going further, therefore, something will here be premised concerning the classification according to

which it is necessary, at least in our thoughts, to distribute those who are often referred to as a whole, *as the liberal clergy—the reformers, &c.* Unless this is done, there is often danger of confusion and error; for much may be truly said of one section of the reformers which may be as truly denied of another; and many of the charges brought by Rome against “the liberal priests,” and which are not without grounds, so far as some of them are concerned, would be most unjustly applied to others.

In the first place it must be borne in mind that the appellation “*liberal priests*” is applied to a body composed of widely differing materials. It would be a very unsafe conclusion, because of our sympathy with the cause of liberality as against Papal obstructiveness or tyranny, or because of our profound approval of the principles and policy of certain of these liberal priests, to infer that *all* who are summed up under that generic name, have of necessity any claim upon our sympathy or our moral support.

The *liberal priests* are all who oppose or disapprove of the Papal and Jesuit policy, in contradistinction to those who are its humble tools or submissive slaves. But, after what has been already said of the sources from which and motives by which the priesthood is recruited, it will cause little surprise to add that certainly a large, possibly—take the whole of Italy together—the largest, proportion of these liberal priests are those who are anxious chiefly to escape from the ecclesiastical control and discipline of the Church, with-

out any special care for, or indeed any opinion about the right or the wrong of the claims of the Papacy, or the doctrines of the theologians who support it. The Jesuits and the authorities at Rome, and the papers in their employ every where, take the greatest pains to identify the liberal priests as a whole with this class, and echo and re-echo the common saying, "The liberal priests are the libertine priests" ("*I preti liberali son i preti libertini*"). In Naples, at least, the saying is popularly current; and there is too much reason to fear that in Southern Italy it is much more often true than false. If such liberal priests as these have any theological views at all, they are rather infidel.

But another section of these liberal priests are very different men. They are those who have engaged in a struggle with Rome, in the interests of patriotism, of intellectual freedom and progress, of social philanthropy, of public morality, of religious truth. The prompting motives of such as these are of course diverse, in some instances rising far above those which are revealed in others; but at all events, it is *principle* of some kind, high-toned principle; and it is, in all its forms, worthy of our sympathy and approbation, though enlisting that sympathy to a greater or less degree, as its aim is more or less sacred and exalted.

It need scarcely be added that those of whom we speak as *reformers* belong only to this latter class of the liberal priests. In fact it is but a minority of even these who have thus far enlisted in the active advocacy of a religious reformation of their Church; and it is this

specific demand *for religious and ecclesiastical reform*, rather than the degree in which patriotic or religious motives prompt this demand and aim, that characterize, as such, the party of reform even among the better class of liberal Italian priests.

Confining our attention now to the *reformers*, we find already strongly marked the one great diversity which every where results from the union in any movement of men of various intellectual characteristics and of different temperaments. Even in a party of religious progress, there are relative *Progressives* and *Conservatives*.

The line which separates them is not very far from identical with that which separates those priests and ecclesiastics who have suffered suspension, from those who yet retain their formal relations with their superiors. It is not easy to determine with regard to either, how far it has been the spirit with which they have laboured for the desired reforms which has determined those relations, and how far it has been the degree of forbearance and severity which they have experienced from their superiors, which has hastened or retarded their progress in reducing their new principles to practice. Cause and effect have, no doubt, changed and interchanged places, as events advanced. On the one hand, it is quite certain that the bold, decided, and outspoken zeal of some, have brought down ecclesiastical censures, suspensions, and excommunications, again and again, both in individual instances, as in those of Reali, Mongini, and Perfetti, and by wholesale, as in the case of the members of the Clerico-Liberal Society and the Società Emancipatrice

of Naples ; on the other hand, it is equally certain that such censures having once fallen, have given and will give a sense of freedom which greatly facilitates their advance, both in thought and active policy.

So, too, the forbearance of two or three Bishops, who might be named, were it wise to do so, has had the effect of retarding many who cling to the hope of moving in concert with their ecclesiastical superiors, and thus avoiding the necessity of choosing between their new convictions and their ecclesiastical relations ; while, conversely, not a few owe it to their extreme caution alone, that they have not already been suspended *a divinis*, if not excommunicated, with all due formality.

We shall better realize the exact difference between the two, if we bear in mind that the movement is not itself, so to speak, as yet fully formulated ; nor do the soberer minds among the reformers think themselves yet in a position even to begin to advance from the stage of preparation to that of action. The reform movement is, let us remember, thus far, first of all, a deep consciousness of the fearful peril which hangs over the Italian people, and the Church as well, unless the latter harmonizes herself with the temporal and civil interests of Italy, and unless she becomes better fitted to teach her children Divine truths, and to guide them in spiritual things. It is this strong turning away from the past ; it is this passionate yearning for a reformation, the exact character and limits of which they scarcely seek, as yet, to define to themselves, but towards which they are stretching out their arms from the darkness or

from the early grey light of dawn, which largely characterizes this movement in its present stage. For the rest, it is a work of study and discussion, of comparison of views among themselves, and of the dissemination of their principles among others, that the ground may be prepared for whatever future God may have in store for them.

But the question which divides them is this: Shall they who cherish such hopes and aims, step out boldly and (while reserving their fidelity to their Church and to the *legitimate* authority of the hierarchy, yet acting in practical independence of the *men* who now abuse that authority, or virtually abdicate it by holding it in slavish vassalage to the Pope) take decided steps upon their own responsibility, in the belief that, by so doing, they will, sooner or later, induce or compel a part, at least, of the Italian Episcopate to follow them? Or shall they content themselves, for the present, with doing all they can to extend the spread and power of their principles, and to influence their Bishops and fellow-priests; rendering the former, meanwhile, all official respect and obedience, and delaying to take any positive step without their co-operation? This, and not any difference of opinion about the religious danger which now threatens Italy—not any difference of conviction about the present condition of the Church and Priesthood—not any difference in respect to the extent or limits of the desired reform, or to the principles by which it should be governed;—*this*, and *this only*, is the issue which now distinguishes the more *progressive* and the more *conservative* reformers.

It seemed, at one time, as if this distinction were, to some extent, one of latitude: at all events the difference between the policies pursued respectively by the *avowed* reformers of the Northern and of the Southern Provinces, was pretty much the difference which has just been pointed out. Reform in *North Italy* has been generally under the controlling influence of calm and sober men (men who were in fact too distrustful of their own policy to act impulsively upon it), who were slowly and cautiously surveying before them the path which they proposed to tread: scarce any thing has been known of a reforming spirit in *South Italy*, save as represented by those Societies which, boldly throwing down the gauntlet to Rome, have pressed the discussion of their principles, and have apparently lacked the *power* rather than the *will* to proceed at once to reduce those principles to practice. We have known of the Northern reformers by name, as individuals, each of whom had his own individual views and principles, and acted under his own personal sense of responsibility: we have known of those at the South only in the aggregate, as followers of certain leaders—perhaps as cyphers whose only value was to increase, by ranging themselves after him, the value of a single integer.

Far below the North Italians in personal character, even as regards *morals*, and much more as regards *spirituality*, these Neapolitan reformers have yet seemed no whit less earnest in their desire for reform, *so far as they were able to realize the need of it*, and very much more daring even in their assertion of that aim;—rarely so

well grounded in the knowledge of any portion of the subject, but ever prompt to plunge into any branch of the discussion, and to proceed from theory to action;—less fitted to be *leaders*, but, perhaps, more ready to be *martyrs* in the cause.

In a word, reform at the North is a steadily and slowly maturing *conviction*: it has thus far been revealed in Naples as a *passion*.

But however natural temperament may tend, in the one case, to *moderate*, and, in the other, to *accelerate* their progress, there are no lack of progressive spirits among the Northern reformers, nor—what is not so well known—of conservatives even in the city of Naples itself. The impetuous policy of such men as Zaccaro, and Prota, and Barilla, and their followers, almost monopolizing the representation of reform principles in South Italy, has naturally induced those who were less advanced to hold themselves the more carefully in reserve; and it has not been known that there are in the Southern as well as in the Northern Provinces, *and almost in equal numbers*, friends and advocates of reform among the priests, who yet retain their position in the Church, and who, while they refuse to associate themselves with the Naples reform societies, do not the less welcome the writings and respect the wise counsels of men like Tiboni and Reali, and others to whom we have yet to refer, at the North.

The Reformers are, then, by no means to be identified (as Rome insists on doing) with what are called "*the liberal priests*" as a whole; but it should ever be re-

membered that they are only *that portion* of the better class of such priests, (1st) whose liberality is one of *principle* and not of *licence*; and (2nd) whose principle aims *at the reformation of the Church*. That there are numbers of the worthless liberal priests who *call* themselves reformers and strive to attach themselves to their brethren who are really such, is true indeed, to the great injury of that sacred cause.

Again, the *reformers* are to be divided in accordance with their more *progressive* or more *conservative* policy in the advocacy or prosecution of such reform:—a *conservative* policy largely predominating in the North, and a more *progressive* policy—so far as open and avowed reformers were concerned—having heretofore had sole possession of the movement at the South.

But there are other lines to be drawn—to some extent, it is true, running parallel with these—but nevertheless distinct from them, inasmuch as they have regard not to the *professed* aim or the *professed policy* of these men, but rather to the principles which appear to actuate them in that policy, and especially to the effect of those principles upon their manner of meeting foreigners who come to Italy with words of sympathy and, perhaps also, proffers of help.

Those who are the real hope of a real religious reform of the Church of Italy are not those of whom foreigners hear or know the most; nay, of some of them, very few have ever heard so much as the *names* mentioned: while this cause has at times been, in the supposition of some, almost identified with men, with whom the leaders of

the real movement carefully eschew the least appearance of connexion. Let it be realized that the profuse liberality and even careless ignorance with which foreign aid has often been rendered to self-styled reformers in Italy, *has called into being an amount of spurious reforming which almost hides the genuine from view*, and has rendered it at once one of the easiest and most profitable trades, for such as can get into the way of it, to turn reformer and practise on foreign sympathy. In fact, there are unnumbered stray, perhaps worthless, liberal priests in every part of Italy, who, at the appearance of any *wealthy* and enthusiastic Englishman or American, can produce a promising programme for the reformation of their countrymen, almost by wholesale; and there are hundreds of needy artisans or peasantry in every place, who, at the appearance of any *charitable* evangelizing Society, are ready to be converted and to form congregations of any kind whatever. Such an assertion does not, of course, deny that there are genuine reformers in the Italian priesthood, and genuine piety among the humble converts of the Valdesi and other missionaries; but only insists that among those who *present* themselves professing to belong to either class there is room and need for making enormous discounts.

When the condition of the country and of the Church, and the utter ignorance of and intense prejudice against "*Protestants*" in which all are trained—when these are taken into account, sober reflection might suggest a doubt, whether those to whom reform was most a matter of *religious* principle, and who, at the same time,

were in a position to do most for the cause, were readily to be found out—at least by us. Those who possess the power to do most for the accomplishment of a reformation *in the Church* are themselves *in the Church*; and such men—men probably of calmer, cautious, less impulsive temperaments, and *having, too, so much at stake*—would be most unlikely to talk confidentially upon such subjects with mere strangers. And at a time when the Italian people are notoriously most jealous of foreign interference, surely no one who really had the power of accomplishing much good among his brethren, would urge on foreigners the responsible control and charge of any scheme at all likely to exert a moral influence at home.

On the other hand, careful observations have furnished abundant proof that those who profess such sincere and strong desire to identify themselves with the Anglican Church, for instance, and under her ægis to labour for the reform of Italy, at every cost of ecclesiastical censure to themselves (or of money to their foreign friends), are almost utterly ignorant of the character of that Church, of her history, and of her faith. Such men as these are ready to be sought out, *and it is with such men only that the mere traveller would readily come into contact*; and these, having made unwary philanthropists quite enthusiastic with the maturity of their views and the depth of their religious convictions, would be pretty sure to offer him at once some magnificent opportunity of investing his sympathy, *and especially his money*, in the cause of Italian reform in general, and in a provision for themselves in particular.

It is well, therefore, to bear in mind that, even among those who claim the same general principles, and profess to desire only a Catholic reform in the Church of Italy, there are four different classes of reformers.

First. A class of ecclesiastics still retaining their positions in the Church, while looking upon the necessity of reform as of the most solemn importance; but who—being in continual danger of losing their very power and opportunity of exerting an influence or accomplishing any practical step, as well as being consciously immature in their own views regarding the limits of necessary reform—are quietly, prudently, calmly, as well as steadily, labouring to prepare for it.

This class is the hope of the Church: the others may do much to strengthen it, and to co-operate with it; but without it, could do nothing. This is the class which numbers many of the most devoted, the most conscientious, the most able reformers; this is the class of whom least is known; these are the priests and ecclesiastics whose names, with the rarest exceptions, are not seen in the reports and published accounts, and to whom the foreigner can get no access, unless he has personally acquired confidential relations with them one by one.

Second. A class of priests who are suspended, and have therefore little or nothing left to fear, or of laymen, who are able to act with greater freedom than these last, but who nevertheless, in their religious views as well as in their policy and programme for reform,

entirely sympathize and closely co-operate with their brethren still preserving their ecclesiastical relations.

So far as aim and purpose—so far, too, as their work is concerned—these two classes are morally but one: the only difference is that which results from the single fact of their different relations with the authorities of the Church. We know the names of not a few of *these*; and it is not difficult to meet with them in person: but these men, not less jealously than their brethren, are careful to remember that a reformation of the Church of Italy must be the work of Italian hands and minds and hearts, and they will neither ask nor permit any foreign interference with the direction or control of a work of which Italians, and Italians only, must bear the responsibility.

Third. A class of ex-priests and laymen whose ideas of reform are rather *politico-ecclesiastical* than strictly *religious*; who have no high and holy, no spiritual views of the subject, although they may be thoroughly sincere and earnest in their devotion to their cause. But that cause itself, although they may call it “the reformation of the Church,” falls immeasurably short of that which would alone be worthy of the name.

Such men as these may be, in their way, worthy of all respect; only their work is not what we suppose it when they are termed “reformers.” With these, moreover, there is no difficulty at all in entering into close relations, since (as much, perhaps, from a natural desire of securing every assistance as from less worthy motives) they are glad to press into service any sympathetic

and generous foreigners who may interest themselves in their aims and work.

Fourth. There remains a more or less worthless class of ex-priests—ecclesiastical adventurers—who have no particular religion, and not much principle of any kind; who are swarming all over Italy, ready to profess any thing, and to enter into any plans; regarding foreign sympathy in the cause of Italian reform as a rich mine which they may work *ad libitum* for their own private advantage. Such men show great tact in detecting the expectations of those with whom they meet, and will say just what they think they would like to hear.

These are they with whom strangers meet most easily, and from whom an extravagant idea of the religious state of Italy is derived by some; and on account of whom the religious movement is so greatly and so generally misjudged to its prejudice by others. The existence of this class—a large, prominent, and ever-present class of self-styled reformers—should never be forgotten, since it accounts for and explains a great many facts which might otherwise lead our judgment astray, in one direction or the other. Not a few of the warm-hearted “missionaries,” who are sent from every direction into Italy to reform that fair land (*a work which can only be done by her own sons*), and others who wish to take an active interest in the reform movements already initiated there, are made the victims of such “reformers” as these; and some, in consequence, when they are at last undeceived, go away utterly disgusted with the whole subject of Italian Reform.

With these general analyses of the whole field, we will turn now to dwell upon some of the most interesting efforts which have thus far been put forth in support or advocacy of Reformation in this ancient branch of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER VI.

THE "ESAMINATORE" AND ITS CONTRIBUTORS.

AMONG the various agencies which have at different times been devised and put into effect for the purpose of giving scope to the influence of the reformers, and of fostering the various reforming tendencies which were gradually revealed on every side, none have fulfilled so valuable a purpose, none have so steadily advanced to a position of importance, none now occupy so large a field of influence or promise such continually increasing and expanding usefulness, as the *Esaminatore*.

This journal was projected towards the close of the year 1863, and it was proposed to publish it at Turin, where the first number was in fact issued in the January following.

The name selected was designed to be expressive of its purpose: its sub-title declared it to be a "*Foglio periodico inteso a promuovere la concordia fra la Religione e lo Stato*;" and the principles under guidance of which that concord was to be sought were indicated by the addition, in Italian, of the text Jer. vi. 16, "Stand in

the way and see," &c., and by the dictum of Tertullian, "*Id quod verius prius, id prius quod ab initio.*"

The charge of the *Esaminatore* was at first entrusted to a worthy ex-priest; but divine Providence had, however, long been training a very different person for this solemn trust. A generation ere human eyes perceived a ray of promise for even the *political* liberty of Italy, much less of hope of the return of her venerable Church to religious truth and purity—nay, while her truest sons yet mourned the utter overthrow of such hopes as had been awakened by the career of the first French Empire—an earnest Christian Tuscan, left, while still in the prime of life, a widower with an infant son, resolved to dedicate himself to the immediate service of God, to the memory of his wife and to the education of his child. With the latter object especially in view, instead of the cloister, he chose the priesthood. A truly religious, nay a *godly* man—a devoted student of the Bible, a faithful parish priest, without the narrowing effects of an Italian Episcopal Seminary training; his was an instance rarely to be found among the clergy of the Church of Rome, of a priest, who neither had been in his past life, nor was now in his affections and interests, cut off from the world, from society, or from domestic ties. Thus strangely, but most providentially was it ordered, that in the little town of Monticello, near Siena, *Stanislao Bianciardi* received from his father, this most estimable priest, an education which watched with equal care over the intellect and the heart, and duly adjusted the train-

ing of the one for this life, and of the other for the life to come.

Signore Bianciardi devoted himself to literature; he was at one time a tutor in the family of the Count Rasponi of Ravenna, and his pupil the present Count, late Syndic of Ravenna and Deputy in Parliament (and cousin, too, I believe, of the present French Emperor), cherished an affectionate regard for his former tutor, equally creditable to both. The latter, afterwards settling in Florence, engaged in teaching, and also published at different times several little educational works.

About the time of the revolution of 1859, Signore Bianciardi began a series of pamphlet essays upon various political and social topics, twenty of which, under the well-known title of "*Veglie di Prior Luca*," have appeared at various intervals from that time to this. Some of the earlier "*Veglie*" were so popular, alike in subject, in treatment, and in style, that his publishers induced him to undertake a "*History of the Popes*." This work was indeed commenced, and the first volume published, in 1861, in a very handsome illustrated edition. The frontispiece represents Italy, as a female figure robed in the national colours, her foot upon the papal tiara, grasping the keys with her left hand, and pointing with her right to the irradiated Bible and Cross in the heavens above; and in full keeping with such a frontispiece, the author gave in his preface full expression to his conviction of the necessity of a Catholic reform in the Church of Italy. This work

was probably too advanced for the times ; and its publication being arrested by the failure of the publishers, it has not been resumed ; and the story remains, therefore, broken off at about the middle of the fourth century. The *Veglie of Prior Luca* were, however, continued ; but Signore Bianciardi, disappointed in his hope of doing good through his interrupted history, laboriously engaged in study, in teaching, and in writing, and scarce ever going out of Tuscany, was not at all aware that there were any others in Italy who shared with him his yearnings for reform. Such was the story of Professore Bianciardi, before he came into contact with a work for which he seemed to have been so specially fitted. What he is to the reform movement *now*, I shall take another occasion to say.

The first number of the *Esaminatore* was issued, at Turin, on the 13th of January, 1864, consisting of sixteen pages of two columns each. It was scarcely out, however, when the principal promoter of the experiment met, for the first time, with Professore Bianciardi's "*History of the Popes*," above referred to ; and read with astonishment the avowal of just such hopes and yearnings as those which had prompted the new journal. A supplementary four-paged sheet was published, adding this good news, together with a notice of this *History*, and large extracts from the Preface.

At this moment the Editor was taken sick, and forced to relinquish his charge ; and this—in fact the entire proprietorship and control of the *Esaminatore* were offered to Professore Bianciardi ; and he promptly ac-

cepted the opportunity of rendering such important service to a cause which he had so much at heart.

The journal was therefore removed to Florence, where the second number was issued, Feb. 15th, and others followed regularly every month; but as, with No. 3, the new Editor began to impress upon his work something of his own individuality, and as a larger issue was now necessary to carry out more extensive plans, it was thought best to publish new Nos. 1 and 2, in which was reprinted largely, but with some modifications, the contents of the original numbers. The *file* of the *Esaminatore* appears, therefore, complete, and a unit from the first.

The aim of this journal, to which it has steadily adhered, is to *examine* into the present condition of the Church of Rome, especially as it exists in Italy; contrasting it with its scriptural and primitive Original; pointing to the corruptions which have crept in during successive ages, whether in its polity, its worship, or its doctrines; discussing also the measures necessary to restore it to its state of primitive purity. In doing this, the threefold test of Sound Reason, the written Word of God, and the example and teaching of the primitive Church, was adopted as the rule of examination; and a full and frank discussion was invited on either side from any who would take part in it in a courteous spirit. I need scarcely add, however, that the opponents of reform, and defenders or apologists of the Church of Rome as she is, have, I believe, never accepted this invitation. Examination and free discus-

sion is exactly what they cannot bear, and will not permit.

But slowly, one by one, a better class *have* become deeply interested in the object and work of the *Esaminatore*. It began its tentative career without a subscription list, and nearly without contributors; being left to make its way simply by its own influence, and by its real adaptation to supply a want which it was believed was beginning to be felt. It was partly designed as a test; *and the extent of its success, it was hoped, would prove the measure of the spread of a genuine desire for reform throughout the Church of Italy.* Single and successive numbers were at first sent experimentally to any priest who was known to have given any evidence of liberal opinions; and as time advanced, those who took an interest in its success suggested to the Editor—or Director, as he is rather called—the names of other priests whom it might be well to try in the same manner. Now and then some such an one would make a special effort in this way, and send a long list of his fellow-priests. In this way, before the end of the third year—i. e. 1866—the distribution to priests alone had, from a few scattered numbers, increased to several hundreds. The original experimental distribution was far more largely to laymen, Members of Parliament, Professors in the Universities and Lyceums, &c., whose names could be readily obtained, and who at least belonged to a class that might be expected to take an interest in such a project. But of these very few took any notice of the new journal; and its lay distribution

was rapidly contracted. As the great object was rather to gain a circulation and to secure readers, than to become self-supporting, the *Esaminatore* was freely offered to all who would welcome it; and its regular "associates" (as they are called) have, therefore, always included three classes,—those who subscribed and *paid* for it, those to whom it was sent as a tribute of respect, including its various *colaboratori*, and those who expressed a wish to receive it gratis. Besides these associates, there has always continued an experimental distribution, a feature of the management of the *utmost practical importance*, and which has always been limited only by the limit of the means at the disposal of the promoters of the journal. Somewhat similar has been the gradual development of a disposition on the part of the liberal Italian priests to take advantage of the channel which was thus offered them for the interchange of their views and the expression of their convictions. First, two or three who had already written publicly in favour of reform, now wrote for the *Esaminatore*; then others, tempted by community of views, ventured to do the same under assumed names. Little by little, others still, each thus brought to realize for the first time that he was by no means alone in his new opinions, but that many of his fellow-priests, in every part of Italy, were completely at one with him, cast in the contributions of his thoughts to aid in quickening the yearning for reform in yet other hearts. Thus each voice, as month by month the *Esaminatore* continued its quiet unpretending work, awakened echoes; and many

a new disciple gained became at once a missionary, making it known more widely, and enlisting others in the same sacred cause.

The contents of the *Esaminatore* have ranged, without any special system, over the whole realm proposed. It has embraced discussions upon the despotic power of the Papacy, the rights of Bishops, clergy, and laity; the necessity of the restoration of the Bible to the laity, and the importance of its study; worship in the national tongue; enforced clerical celibacy; the antagonism between the claims of the Papacy and Italian rights and liberty; the Moral and Dogmatic Theology of the Church of Rome, &c.

Professore Bianciardi himself usually furnished an article under the heading "*Svolgimento del Programma*," upon the purposes and progress of the journal. Perfetti contributed to the first number an article upon Primitive Christianity; and perhaps occasionally afterwards. The course of Mongini and the writings of Tiboni were reviewed on several occasions; and the *Esaminatore* also called early attention to a most remarkable pamphlet by Deputy Morretti, of which some account will be given in another chapter.

The first number for 1865 was in some respects an epoch in the young life of this unpretending journal. The name of Canonico *Reali* first appeared in this number, as the signature of a long and able article upon the Syllabus; *Mongini* became a contributor; *Panzani*, although he did not then avow himself, began his "*Confessions of a Priest*;" and "*Frulla*" first appeared

as a friendly critic of the course of the *Esaminatore*, and of its Director; and in a vein peculiarly their own, mingling an offhand, racy humour with practical wisdom, these letters of "amico Frulla" have won their way to general and hearty popularity. With this number also appeared the first of a series of admirable articles upon *Personal Religion*, which were continued during this and the following year; and it was certainly a remarkable and hopeful sign of the reality of the change going on around, that these articles proved among the most acceptable ever published in the *Esaminatore*, and that ever since they were interrupted, there has been a continual desire expressed that they should be resumed.

Of single or transient contributions should be mentioned an article, published in April, 1865, on "*The action and influence of the laity in ecclesiastical affairs in America*," which first enlisted an interest in the American Episcopal Church. From September, to January, 1866, appeared a series of five very remarkable and powerful anonymous articles upon "*The present conditions of Roman Dogmatic Theology*." In June and July, 1866, Cardinal D'Andrea furnished those letters which he was afterwards compelled "*to deplore*."

But there are two dates during this period worthy of a special reference.

Upon the 12th of June, 1865—i. e. in Vol. II., No. 6—the *Esaminatore* put forth definite propositions, and submitted a definite programme of reform. In an able article, that journal depicted the growing evils of the

actual state of religion in Italy, producing both separation from and infidelity within the Church; and argued that a thorough religious reform of the Church could alone arrest their spread, and save the State itself from moral ruin. It urged, therefore, the formation of a general National Association, comprising clergy and laity alike, which should have such a reform for its object; and referred to the then approaching execution of the Franco-Italian Convention of September, bringing with it (as was then believed by many) the downfall of the temporal power of the Papacy, as affording a divinely prepared opportunity for accomplishing this. The scheme of reform proposed in this connexion, and which was declared to be based upon "the three rules, sound reason, the written Word of God, and the doctrines and practices of the first ages of the Church," was as follows:—

"Our fundamental idea is the restitution of their ancient Catholic rights and duties to all Orders of the faithful, whether ecclesiastics or laymen. Therefore—

"1. The laity to elect their Parish Priests, and to administer the temporal affairs of the Church.

"2. The clergy and laity to elect the Bishops, saving the rights of the Crown.

"3. The Bishops and Metropolitans to have restored to them their old Diocesan and Provincial rights; their present servile dependence on the Pope, and all oaths of vassalage to Rome, being abolished.

"4. The Clergy to be free to marry or to live in celibacy.

"5. The Holy Scriptures to be freely circulated among the laity.

"6. The Church Services to be in the national tongue understood by the people.

"7. Confession to be no longer obligatory, but voluntary. The Communion in both kinds."

These propositions were perhaps, *at that time*, premature, and, in some respects, decidedly in advance of what may be called the constituency of the *Esaminatore*. Such an Association not only *was*, but still *is*, indeed impracticable; few of the unsuspended priests would risk so daring a step; but the programme, *now certainly*, fairly represents the convictions and aims of the very large proportion of those who are in any way associated with that journal.

The other date was the 9th of November following, when appeared the first of the "*Lettere Piacentine*," altogether perhaps the most valuable papers the *Esaminatore* has called forth. The author of these letters was wholly unknown to the Director of that journal, and to his immediate co-labourers, and the paper itself to this worthy ecclesiastic, until a copy sent experimentally to a priest of the same city fell into his hands, arrested his attention, and enlisted his deep interest; and thenceforward he became not merely a regular contributor, but by far one of the most important co-labourers with the Director in the conduct of that journal.

These *Lettere Piacentine* have now become an almost recognized power among reforming circles in the Italian

Church; and a striking illustration of their influence, which was lately afforded, may perhaps be cited. An Italian statesman, at one time of some note and still a Deputy in Parliament, wishing to discuss some ecclesiastical question then before the Chamber, wrote to Professore Bianciardi, requesting him kindly to obtain for him, if possible, the opinion and counsel of the learned author of the Piacentine Letters.

Of these Letters, two or three have been especially remarkable. Letter IX., published in the *Esaminatore* for November 12, 1866, upon "*I Predicatori e la Riforma Cattolica*," was a most striking and evangelical discussion of the duty of plain and faithful preaching of the Word of God; contrasting the zealous fulfilment of this responsibility by the Bishops of the early Church with its utter neglect by the Italian Bishops of the present day, and urging the importance of the revival of faithful preaching as essential to a truly Catholic and Scriptural reform*.

Letter XII. of this series, which was published in December, 1867, and January, 1868, consisted of three parts, and was devoted to the discussion of "*L'Eresia, lo Schisma e l'Esaminatore*." In these, with great ability, the author defines real moral heresy and schism; lays down the great principles which should govern a pure, a sound, and a Catholic reform, in language which might almost be applied to our own reformation, or at least to the principles upon which the ablest Anglican theologians have ever defended it; and finally demonstrates

* See note, p. 76.

that the *Esaminatore* is acting upon none other than just such principles.

Letter XIV. of this series, published in June last, ably discusses the coming so-called Ecumenical Council.

At times these Letters (which have thus continued to enrich the *Esaminatore* for nearly three years) have searchingly pointed out the corruptions of the Church, comparing its practice with Scriptural injunction or with primitive example; at times, they have in clear, calm, earnest language discussed the course before the reformers, and their duty to Italy, to their Church and God; now they have striven to awaken a sense of sacred responsibility in the readers, while they have proved how deeply that responsibility was felt by the writer himself; and now, turning boldly from all the present claims of the Papacy, they engaged in a detailed investigation of questions of discipline and doctrine in the Primitive Church. The writer of these Letters is evidently a man of mature experience, and well learned; a shrewd, far-sighted, wise, and cautious man; a man of the world, in the better sense of the phrase; but a Christian priest of firm, religious principle and godly piety, who has calmly and firmly set his feet upon a path along which he is not to be hurried impetuously, and from which he is not to be turned back.

To the writers thus already mentioned ought to be added at least two others, who during the current year have become frequent and most acceptable contributors of the *Esaminatore*. These are *Antonio Magrassi*, Parroco of Tortona, and "*Giurispe*." Both of these interest

themselves chiefly in the discussion of the relations of Church and State, and the true theory of a Free Church: the latter, however, defends the 1866 policy of Ricasoli, while Magrassi clearly and vigorously advocates the far sounder and more primitive system upon which the American Church is organized.

Finally, another writer, uniting great beauty and clearness of style with decided powers of thought and a discriminating judgment, has very lately become one of the leading *colaborati*. The first paper of this able ecclesiastic—who signs himself "*Desiderio II.*"—appeared in the *Esaminatore* for June 24, entitled, "*Diagnosi, prognosi e cura del presente morbo cattolico* *."

With the year 1867, the *Esaminatore* became a bi-monthly; and with the current year—1868—it attempted to assume a weekly issue. This latter change did not, however, like that of the preceding year, involve an increase of the number of pages in the month, but a substitution for a fortnightly issue of sixteen pages of a weekly issue of eight only, at which it still continues; though on account of the length of many articles, two numbers often appear together with a fortnight's interval.

The various writers for this journal—as may have been already gathered—have sometimes openly signed, sometimes concealed their names, the Director of course scrupulously guarding the confidence of those who thus trusted him. Thus sprang up, among these *colaboratori*, the two classes, as they were termed, of the *velati* and

* See note, p. 78.

svelati, the veiled and the unveiled, in reference to which one of Professore Bianciardi's best friends and devoted co-workers (Parroco Barzacchini—now deceased) was accustomed to sign himself "*Desiderio Dalvelo*."

In June, 1865, Mongini created an issue among the friends of reform, by an article in which he called for the immediate "unveiling" of all these unknown writers, insisting that all the real reformers should at once come out and avow themselves such, openly and boldly taking their stand together, braving the consequences, and unitedly demanding of the Pope, the hierarchy, the Government, and the people, the reform of the Church they sought. A few priests yielded to his arguments, frankly and voluntarily gave their own names, and one or two advocated this daring policy; but others, perceiving clearly that, in so immature a stage of the whole movement, when it *could* advance only with slow and cautious steps,—when the great need was yet for preparation, and few were at all qualified to *act*,—such a policy would, humanly speaking, be fatal to their future hopes, and put it into the power of Rome to crush the reform movement in its infancy, firmly supported the Director in opposing it.

Mongini thenceforward separated himself from such prudent brethren, and, as will be seen, established a journal of his own, to advocate a bolder policy. The *Esaminatore* became more especially identified with what has been referred to as the *conservative* section of the reformers; and after a temporary check in consequence of this difference with the worthy, but somewhat rash

Piedmontese Parroco, continued, perhaps more steadily than ever, to increase in circulation, and to exert a greater influence.

NOTES.

(P. 72.)

The opening and the closing paragraphs are subjoined as illustrations:—

“The Word of God is the truth which He has purposed to reveal by the mouth of the prophets, and, in the fulness of time, by that of His only-begotten Son. Preachers, when they enter the Christian pulpit, expound, explain, and comment upon this revealed teaching; but *their* word is the Word of God only in an accommodated sense. The true, the single font at which Christian people can quench their thirst for the Sacred Word is the Book in which it is written. One of the most sacred rights, one of the most legitimate aspirations of the Christian man, is to read, or to hear announced to him, the Word of God, which God Himself has revealed to him. Now this right which we have acquired in baptism has been violated—this instinct which was implanted in our hearts in the act of our regeneration has been perverted; when, little by little, the word of man has been substituted for the Word of God, or when the Holy Scriptures have been taken from the hands of the faithful, and for these have been substituted so many other books, which if they did not corrupt the Divine Word, diluted it, dissolved it, and deprived it of that supernatural power which renders it ‘quick and powerful and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.’ The Word which goeth forth out of the mouth of the Lord does not return unto Him void, but accomplishes that whereunto He hath sent it.

“With this I do not intend to imply that Christian education is fulfilled by *reading* the Holy Scriptures only. Jesus Christ ordained His holy Apostles to preach and to proclaim the glad tidings to all nations. St. Paul taught that faith cometh from hearing, and hearing from the Word of Christ. Let apostolic men preach, therefore, the Word of Christ, the Word of Christ alone, without adding any thing new, without

taking away any thing of that which is such. Christian preachers ought to keep their eyes fixed upon the Author of our faith, the model and the teacher of all the heralds of the Divine Word. Let them ever remember that to teach dogma and morality in the very words of revelation is the most sublime of their functions; that simplicity, a chastened character, gravity, ought to be the foundation of their eloquence; that their style ought to be formed upon Scriptural phrases and strengthened by evangelical austerity, and the word ought to glow and burn with love Divine. Derived from this fountain, it will thence have purity; and as oil penetrates the folds of drapery, it will search out the secret ways of the heart, and there speak with that efficacious gentleness which is called unction, and which distinguishes the Christian word from all others. The Holy Scriptures and Divine love are a source of inspiration from which one does not rise up either a forensic or a political orator. The Holy Scriptures preached by one who loves God, have a secret virtue which carries conviction without imposing it; without special effort, it wins; and the Christian hears a supernal voice, which in the secret of the heart says to him, 'It is God Himself who speaks to you!'

"The Holy Fathers of the Church, and especially those who illustrated the first Christian centuries, when they spoke to the people either in homilies or in catechizings, only expound or comment upon the Sacred Scriptures, or guide their hearers to gather its genuine meaning. St. John Chrysostom exhorts the faithful before coming to church to read the Scriptural portions which on the Sunday would be explained to them. And the Fathers based their teaching upon the Biblical text; and on this account they present themselves to us with the dignity of the prophet and of the apostle, with that sense of calm inspiration which comes from the profound study of the Sacred Scriptures. Their speech is temperate, and adapted to the subject: where it occurs, the dialogue proceeds with easy movement; and they divide to the people the Holy Scriptures with a placid and familiar dignity; with a grace and naturalness which is the voice of truth.

* * * * *

"O dear brethren of the Ministry, let us all lay our hands upon our hearts, and confess that we have sinned. Let us amend, and in future, let nothing go forth from our lips but the Word of God; nor let the people entrusted to us hear any thing else from us. It is sweet to the ears of the good, and powerful to convert the erring. Perhaps sometimes we have been comforted, seeing some good which our preaching accomplished: it was God who spoke to the heart of those who are His own, whilst our voice fell upon their ears. If we shall cause the Word of God to be heard every where and always, nothing will be able

to resist His power and His sweetness. Let not the sacred text be a secret, studied only by the erudite, guarded as an enigma which the learned only can know how to solve. Under the veil of parables, the Lord hid from the carnal Jews the majesty of His doctrines; but it is ours, as a right conferred on us in our profession as Christians, to know the kingdom of God. Let us, O venerable brethren, make the Holy Scriptures the patrimony of all, and an approving God will bless us as His voice and His heralds.

"Should this letter come into the hands of any layman, let him learn what is his duty in this matter. Let him pray God that *His Word may not be bound*: let him supplicate God for us the preachers of the Gospel, and, according to the injunction of the Apostles to the Thessalonians, pray that '*the word of God may have free course and be glorified.*'"

(P. 74.)

A paragraph from this article is given here, as an illustration of the plainness of speech these men use concerning the present practical working of the Church:—

"The fact of being true does not exempt a religion from pharisaic excrescences and superfetations; but it is more sadly subject to them than others, for the reason that *corruptio optimi pessima*. The Mosiac religion was true, and yet it degenerated into the coarsest pharisaism. The Catholic religion is true, and yet it is entirely overgrown and rendered fruitless by a parasitic growth. It has accepted the widely-extended pharisaism of those who, acting in good faith, are merely weak; and that of the more or less corrupt ignorant. The outward decorations of a worship which is often excessively luxurious, and which not unfrequently forms a perfect antithesis to the poverty of Him who is adored *naked* on the Cross:—a popular instruction in Christian doctrine, too commonly crude, superficial, made up of conventional phrases and of repetitions, which go no further than the ear or the memory:—a system of rites, many of which have no longer any significance for the poor people, and have a merely archeological and doctrinal importance:—the liturgical language, which is a truly incomprehensible jargon for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the faithful, and for two-thirds of the ministers themselves:—the valueless mode, especially in these latter times, of the stereotyped devotions:—the love to Christ, to the Virgin, or to some Saint drawn aside to the sensuous, and fashioned to the petrarchesque or the arcadian:—materiality void of the spirit, the air of

business, the odour of the shop which, at such a time, breathes upon the faithful from the presbytery, from the altar, from the pulpit, from the irreverential and even unbelieving manner with which many officials of worship, beginning with the canon, down to the acolyte and the sacristan, treat the place and sacred things:—all these things, and others like them, serve to lull the people into a palliating religion, into a round of external practices, which dissipate and put to sleep the religious sense and instinct, save in those in whom a powerful nature and a living faith correct the system, and, in some way, apprehend true religion. For the rest, the greater portion of the believing multitude think that the whole or the chief part of the religion of Christ consists in going to mass, and then in being idle on religious festivals, in observing the fasts and the vigils, in confession and communion at least on Easter, in the vociferation which they call daily prayers, in abstaining from their so-called blasphemies, and from profanation of churches. It is then a festive religion (*religione di gala*) to register themselves in some confraternity, and to go in procession with the uniform of the school. As for charity, the love of God and of their neighbour, works of Christian mercy, sacrifice of self and of one's own, either for the good of others, for domestic peace, for civil concord (in which and such like things stands the substance and almost the whole of that religion which is justly called the religion of love, because upon love *universa lex pendet et propheta*), the believing crowd content themselves with reciting the precepts of charity with the lips, and learning the works of mercy by memory, without even understanding them, from the catechism; and if any one from a kindly nature and the spontaneous inclination of a good heart performs, when it so happens, one or the other of those works, he does not think that in so doing he performs an act eminently religious, but regards it as the more religious and meritorious work to go to vespers, or to recite some rosary.

“Whoever is at all accustomed to the people, and knows that part of the common folk who seem to be most devoted and religious beyond the surface, knows well that these are not distorted or exaggerated colours. In confessions the case is most frequent and little less than usual, of penitents who accuse themselves minutely of having spoken blasphemies which are not such, of not having been to mass when they were sick or kept by a greater duty at the bedside of the infirm, of not having fasted upon days of great labours, of having inadvertently put something fat into their mouth in a forbidden time, of having mended the poor garment of a husband or of children on Sunday, after a week of labour without respite, and such like little matters, as if they were real sins: while they are silent, as if *they* were of no consequence and had nothing to do with religion, concerning their concealed but bitter hatreds, their deadly

malice, obstinate and ruinous struggles for a mere trifle, infamous slanders, domestic discord and ill-treatment, cruelty to the old or to the sick, corrupting conversation, fraudulent bargains, injurious falsehoods, exorbitant usury and other similar violations, sometimes most grievous, of the fundamental laws of Christ. It is nothing else than a *most conspicuous* phariseeism—the horrible mixture, for instance, which the brigands make of sacred amulets and devotions, with the most atrocious crimes.”

CHAPTER VII.

THE "ESAMINATORE;" ITS PRESENT POSITION AND INFLUENCE.

THE *Esaminatore* has then, after four years, worked out the problem of its purpose, collected one by one an harmonious corps of writers, marked out a definite and clearly recognized policy, and fairly entered upon its work—a work to which it was, in these earlier years, scarcely more than feeling its way.

The *Esaminatore* is now, therefore, the recognized organ or exponent of the conservative reformers—i. e. of all those who still retain their ecclesiastical positions in the Church, and of all others who believe that there is much, very much to be done in the way of preparation before any active steps can be taken in that direction with any hope of successful result.

What the strength of this section of the reformers may be, it is impossible to say. In fact, this section has no specific line of limitation; for it fades away and is lost among that better class of priests—of whom, thank God, it is manifest that there are far more than

has been supposed!—who are *in* but not *of* the system with which they are indiscriminately confounded. Side by side with the earnest (and perhaps open) correspondent and supporter of the *Esaminatore*—a fellow-canon of the same cathedral, a Parroco of the adjoining parish—are others, who *suppose* that they believe the only form of Christian truth which they have ever learned; who accept and adapt themselves as best they may to the system of worship and discipline in the Church as they find it; who stifle the first yearning for change of some kind, they scarce know what, thinking it *must* be sinful, and certain that no one else ever cherished such wild thoughts. Among such priests as these, the boundary of the reform school in the Italian Church gradually extends itself day by day. One in an unguarded moment betrays his yearnings to a brother priest, and is amazed to find that his own vague unrest is with the other strong conviction; into the hands of another a single copy of the *Esaminatore*, or a little pamphlet of Reali or Perfetti, falls, as it is called, by accident, kindling his soul with new hopes and aims: a third is goaded onward by some act of unusual corruption or tyranny on the part of his ecclesiastical superiors, to a freer and a bolder range of thought, a manlier burst of feeling, or a single independent step; and then they begin to realize that there are those in every part of the whole Church, who are at least praying, if not actively preparing, for a nobler and a holier career as ministers of the Church of Christ than that which now is theirs.

As such men feel their way slowly out from the trammels and darkness of the past towards the light—as little by little the power of old prejudices gives way, and new thoughts and new ideas and new aims gain greater power,—such men as these are gradually adding, and will thus continue to add to the *conscious* strength of the reform party in the Church; but none can say, until the reform and Jesuit schools divide the Church in open contest, how much reserve power still lies unevoked behind those who have realized their devotion to this cause.

The only way of even forming an approximate estimate of the number of these latter, is from the circulation and correspondence of the *Esaminatore*. Here and there may be one who takes this journal for the purpose of keeping a hostile watch upon its policy, and a few doubtless from curiosity, or from a desire to acquaint themselves with the current movements of the day; but denounced as it is by Rome, not very many would be likely to receive or read it without being more or less in sympathy with its object and avowed aims: while many a copy, undoubtedly, finds more than a single (in some instances *very many more*) sympathetic reader. Now the Director of this journal regularly distributes (after all the associates lost during the past year from divers causes, such as the retraction of Cardinal D'Andrea, the withdrawal of Mongini, &c.) not far from twelve hundred copies. If, therefore, due allowance be made, on the one hand, for the number which are sent to laymen, foreigners, &c., and, on the other hand, for the copies

which have several readers, it is probable, that if *every* external obstacle were removed, and every priest felt free to speak out his convictions and desires, and to act upon them, there would be *at least* that number found, among the clergy of the Church of Italy, who would frankly proclaim their approval and sympathy, in the main, with the policy of this journal.

A rough attempt to make a comparative estimate of the local distribution of these reformers, from the number of copies of the *Esaminatore* sent to *priests* in the different provinces of Italy respectively, may not be without interest. Such an estimate would place the provinces of Lombardy, Naples, Venetia, and Piedmont first, and *much* in advance of Sicily, the Emilia, Tuscany, and the Romagna—all of these ranking in the order they are named. The number of priests receiving this journal is, however, far greatest in the Lombard and Neapolitan provinces (these two bearing to each other the ratio of six to five), there being exactly twice the number of copies sent to the former as to Venetia, and nearly five times the number received by priests in Piedmont; while Piedmont itself ranks far ahead of Sicily, nearly double Tuscany, and more than double the receipts of the Romagna. When, however, it is remembered that the circulation in Lombardy is the result of more than four years, and that it is not yet two years since Venetia was open to such a possibility, and that it is yet far behind Lombardy in realization of its freedom, the circulation in the two provinces may be considered relatively about the same, and clearly indicate Lombardo-

Venetia as the stronghold of the reforming school in the Church of Italy.

The very large circulation of the *Esaminatore* in the Neapolitan province clearly indicates an interesting field yet unrevealed—yet unexplored.

Such is the light cast by the *circulation* of the *Esaminatore* upon the question of the present numerical strength of the party of which it is the virtual organ. Let us look at another fact, which bears on the question of the *ratio* of this party's *increase*.

From an early period, the Editor, Professore *Bianciardi*, has been in the frequent, and, latterly, constant reception of letters,—as a general thing, from those personally *unknown* to him, expressing, in various ways, interest in its cause, policy, and prospects. Sometimes these letters would encourage, sometimes they would warn and check; sometimes they would contain a friendly criticism, sometimes a burst of gratified assurance of entire agreement; sometimes they would cover a request for the journal, as a gratuity, sometimes a pecuniary offering towards its support, and a proffer of personal services in advancing its interests; perhaps scarcely ever manifesting a spirit inimical to its great end. Ten to twenty of such letters, received in the course of a single month, was once a source, to the Editor, of great encouragement; two years ago, forty or fifty would be received within that time; and now, three times the latter number will not include all. These letters, of course, enable the Editor to gauge, not inaccurately, the extent to which that journal is gaining

upon the sympathy and moral support of the Clergy of the Italian Church; and even these mere numbers furnish us, measurably, with a basis for our estimate of the rate at which it is surely and steadily increasing in influence.

Three or four causes have combined, during the past twelve months, to place the *Esaminatore* much more prominently before the public, thus materially enlarging the sphere of its influence and identifying it more closely than ever with the cause of religious reform.

The first of these was the public advocacy of Count Mamiani. It seems that a number of the *Esaminatore* falling into the hands of this eminent philosopher and ex-Minister, he expressed his approval. The Director hearing of this, wrote to ask permission to speak publicly of his interest; and in reply, the Count asked first to see a file of the journal. This was at once sent him, and the result was, in due time, a cordial letter of approval and adhesion, which was published in the *Esaminatore* for July 15th.

On the 30th of September, "*Il Diritto*," the organ of the Left or Republican party, referred editorially to this letter, at once condemning the *Esaminatore*, on the ground that Italy was already harassed and divided by questions of sufficient difficulty, without the addition of religious controversy; and censuring Count Mamiani for lending his name to such a purpose. A few days after, the Count sent to the *Diritto* a reply defending the *Esaminatore*, its programme, and himself alike; and this reply being of necessity published by the *Diritto*,

thus the attack of this political journal was the means of bringing the *Esaminatore* and its work, under the sanction of a name universally revered, to the knowledge of thousands of the laity who had never, and otherwise might never, have heard of it.

The service which secular condemnation thus began to render, the commencement of *ecclesiastical* persecution continued. During the last fall, the Director received from friends in the two Dioceses, copies of circular letters issued by the Bishops of Brescia and Treviso, severely censuring the obnoxious journal, prohibiting it, and warning the clergy against it; and this—Professore Bianciardi was informed—was in consequence of orders direct from Rome. However this may be, the *Curia Romana* has now—with less astuteness than might have been expected—advertised the *Esaminatore* to the whole world, and proclaimed the importance they attributed to its influence, when the Pope required Cardinal D'Andrea explicitly “*to deplore the scandal he had given to the faithful*” by his relations with it.

But even this, it seems, was not enough. Still more lately, in the number for August 1st, 1868, the *Civiltà Cattolica* itself has returned to the assault; and without venturing into the field of argument and controversy, has attempted to overwhelm it by invective, abuse, and denunciation. There is much significance in the formality, explicitness, and comprehensiveness, with which this official organ of the *Curia Romana* and the Papacy notifies all concerned “that this journal is included among the writings condemned by the Holy See and by

the rules of the Index, being directly and *ex professo* against the Catholic religion ; and they therefore sin gravely, as many as either write in it, or subscribe for it, or read it, or receive it, or prompt others to read it, or even keep it in their houses without express licence."

Thus Rome has given to this journal a position before the religious world, which it might not else have attained for many years ; and has vindicated for it a title to be regarded henceforth as the representative of all who pray for the coming of a genuine reform in Latin Christendom—a forlorn hope, perhaps it may be thought, as yet, pushed forward and doing battle firmly but calmly, as befits a cause whose weapons of warfare are not carnal, in the common cause of pure truth and genuine Catholicity.

Professore Bianciardi himself is—or at least has thus far been—by virtue of his editorial position, the representative man of the whole movement. Himself a layman of large culture both of mind and character, he is far more capable of taking in new ideas, of comprehending the position of others, than those who have been subjected to a mere ecclesiastical education ; but being, as has been stated, the son of a truly godly parish priest, by whom he was largely educated, he is, on the other hand, far better acquainted with theology and with ecclesiastical affairs, than perhaps any other layman in Italy ; and he is moreover—what, alas, so few Italian laymen are—a man of genuine, earnest piety, at once profoundly conscious in all respects of the corrup-

tions, and profoundly devoted to the interests, of his Church.

Acquainted not only with Latin, but also with English, French, and German, and to a fair degree, even with the literature of these languages, Dr. Bianciardi enjoys the reputation of being a master of style in his own. His published writings have already been mentioned. He has for some time occupied the position of Professor of Italian and Latin Literature in the Royal Lyceum of Florence; he was created a *Cavaliere* by the Ricasoli Ministry, and was not long since appointed by the Government to the honourable trust of President of the Royal Lyceum of Arezzo. The priests of Arezzo, however, promptly beginning a warfare against Dr. Bianciardi, he felt disposed to decline this post. The Government accepted his decision, and appointed him instead to the still more important post of *Provveditore Centrale*, in the Department of Public Instruction. He is now fifty-six years old. These qualifications of mind, of position, and of religious principle, combine to render Dr. Bianciardi singularly fitted for just the work which the Providence of God has committed to him.

An excellent sketch of the position of Dr. Bianciardi as an Italian writer and publicist, may be found in the *Revue Moderne* for July, 1865, p. 160, to which reference can be made in confirmation of this estimate of his marked abilities, and of the value of his devoted services to the Reform Movement.

Dr. Bianciardi is ably and most earnestly supported alike by the labours, the counsels, and the active influence

of Canonico *Eusebio Reali*, and of the reverend author of the *Lettere Piacentine*; and though there is perhaps no formal association between them, yet the *Esaminatore* may be considered the practical result of their joint administration. They well represent the three distinct classes most immediately interested in the cause which this journal advocates, viz. the clergy still maintaining their ecclesiastical relations, the suspended and excommunicated clergy, and the laity. And thoroughly harmonious in their own principles and aims, they have impressed upon the *Esaminatore* characteristics most rare and distinctive among Italian journals, certainly in great contrast to the ultramontane press, and indeed not very common to theological controversy any where, i. e. the preference of Christian charity to the *odium theologicum*. Keeping ever in view the one great object of a reform *in* and *from within* the existing Church of Italy, the preservation of ecclesiastical continuity, and the great Catholic principles by which alone such a reformation should be governed; and moreover, fully aware that the clergy of the Church are as yet unprepared for such a movement, and that the laity upon whose support so much must depend, are, as yet, almost wholly indifferent,—they insist that their *first* work is one of preparation. And one must be poorly acquainted with the state of Italy, or carried away by a *very unwise* impatience, not to admit the soundness of this conclusion, *though none can say how rapidly this work of preparation will be forced onward by the progress of events*. The written Word of God as received, interpreted, and

acted on in the first three centuries, and the example of the Primitive Church itself, and the witness of the earliest Fathers to its worship, discipline, and polity, are accepted by the *Esaminatore* as the standard of what is truly Catholic; and its immediate objects, therefore, are by examination and discussion to ascertain *what* measures of reform are necessary to restore the Church to that pure original, as well as to cultivate that practical Christianity and that love of Christ as the one centre of all faith and worship, which could alone fitly animate such a holy work. Accepting in a general way the primacy of the Pope, these leaders of the movement continue to acknowledge the *office*, while practically assigning the narrowest bound to their obedience to the authority of the Pope as at present exercised. Reverencing their Bishops as Divinely-authorized rulers of the Church of Christ, and showing this reverence as far as possible in practice, they yet quietly reserve their *superior* allegiance to Him from Whom the Episcopate derives its authority. Believing that the first duty to Christ and the first great argument with men is to exemplify in their own conduct the spirit of that reform which they advocate, the tone of their organ has ever been patient, calm, and gentle. Respectful towards the dignitaries of the Church and towards their adversaries, they are yet firm in their principles, and their work is imbued with a spirit of dependence upon the guidance and blessing of the Holy Spirit. The *Esaminatore*, bearing the impress of the personal character of these three co-labourers, has ever sought, with whatever of ability

and to whatever issues the controversy may be waged, to act upon the apostolic counsel of St. James, "Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show out of a good conversation his work, with meekness of wisdom."

In ecclesiastical polity, the theory of the *Esaminatore* is substantially identical with that of which the American Episcopal Church has given the first modern illustration.

The election of Bishops by the respective Dioceses, the restoration of synodical action, and the due and organic participation of the laity in both, are the leading features of the ideal ecclesiastical polity of these reformers, and the needs just now most present to their thoughts; and since they neither understand the present relations of Church and State in England, nor at all realize the changes now going on in respect to them, this fact gives such as know most about it a peculiar interest in the American branch of the Anglican Church.

Surely, if the *Esaminatore* were more widely known and more fully appreciated, all who desire to be acquainted with the great religious and ecclesiastical changes slowly but surely approaching in Europe, and especially with the struggle on the most important battle-field of all—Italy itself—would subscribe for this periodical,—thus contributing something to its yet scanty maintenance,—and closely watch its teachings and career.

Even while these pages are preparing, the sphere of

the *Esaminatore*, and the influence of its able Director, are again enlarged.

The late publication of the "*Veglia*" XIX.—"*Si stava meglio quando si stava peggio*"—exchanged Prior *Luca's* Tuscan for a national, an Italian reputation; and, in the thoughts of many, still more closely associated the name of Dr. Bianciardi with the cause of education. Numerous requests poured in upon him, that the *Esaminatore* should take a special interest in this subject; and, in consequence, a "*Giunta Pedagogica*" has been added to the last number, to be a regular part of each succeeding one—i. e. if practicable, for the present dimensions of the journal are utterly unequal to the demand upon its columns. With this, the names of some three or four hundred teachers—in every part of Italy—are added to the list of those to whom the *Esaminatore* is regularly sent.

At the same time, the Government has appointed Count Mamiani President of the Supreme Council of Instruction, and constituted a Commission, consisting of Dr. Bianciardi and four Deputies of Parliament, to sit this coming fall (1868) in Milan and in Caserta, for the re-organization of the elementary school system of the kingdom.

Such has been the development of the *conservative* section of the Italian advocates of a "Catholic reform" of their Church.

Something must now be said of those who have found themselves placed in a different position, and who act upon a different policy—of the more *progressive* section, and of the organs which represent them.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOCIETÀ EMANCIPATRICE AND THE PROGRESSIVE JOURNALS.

IN the second chapter, where an account was given of the suppression of the Clerico-Liberal Association, after the death of its Honorary President, Bishop Caputo, mention was made of the prompt organization of another Society by an ex-Dominican friar, *Luigi Prota*.

This new Society—" *La Società Emancipatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso del Sacerdozio Italiano* "—sprung almost instantly, phoenix-like, from the very ashes of its predecessor; and in scarcely more than two months after the *Colonna di Fuoco* had announced its own suspension, i. e. September 25, 1862, the first number of the "*Emancipatore Cattolico*," the organ of the new Society, appeared.

Of this new organization Padre Prota was the President, as well as the chief editor of its organ. Its headquarters were established in the suppressed Convent of San Domenico Maggiore, Prota himself and some of his associates being permitted to retain rooms in the con-

vent, with which they had formerly been associated, and being also in receipt of some small pension from the State; and it is a curious circumstance that the *Emancipatore Cattolico* was in consequence published, it is said, from the *very cell* formerly occupied by Thomas Aquinas.

Of the early history of this Society or journal, there is nothing which requires record here. The remarkable abilities of Padre Prota, and his unwearied industry and indomitable energy, proved superior to all discouragements and to all opposition. In June, 1865, a fortnight after the *Esaminatore* had—as recorded above—put forth a definite programme of reform, the *Emancipatore* did the same. The programme of the latter was substantially identical with that of its Florentine contemporary, although somewhat more fully expressed. It differed chiefly in specifying the position to which it would assign the Pope—i. e. that of “Bishop of Rome and Primate of the Universal Church;” in defining the supremacy of Ecumenical Councils; and in calling for the restoration of Diocesan and Provincial Synodal action.

At this time the *Società Emancipatrice* claimed that its labours and influence had been productive of the following results:—

“1. The foundation of twenty-four assistant Societies, for the different provinces of Italy.

“2. The adherence to its programme of 1823 members; viz. Priests, 971; Laymen, 352; besides 340 honorary members. Among the ecclesiastics are 102

Parish Priests and 40 dignitaries. Among the laity 3 ex-Ministers of the Kingdom of Italy, 36 Deputies to the National Parliament, and 11 Senators of the kingdom."

This claim—understood in its right sense—was probably a true one; but this fact scarcely implies the organic strength or power which is sometimes thought. In fact, the Society—instead of being, as has been generally supposed at a distance, an organized body of priests and laymen banded together for and engaged in the cause of Italian reform—was so in scarcely any other sense than that in which the associates or receivers of the *Esaminatore* might be termed a society, if the Director of that journal chose so to enroll and call them. The *Società Emancipatrice* had indeed the forms of organization, and there were divers officers and regular elections; but the superior ability and influence of Padre Prota dominated over every one and over every thing. The Society was, therefore, scarcely more than an audience, which, with more or less approval, listened to the speeches, read the writings, and looked acquiescingly on at the doings of a little committee of Neapolitans,—at Padre Prota and his immediate colleagues, or assistants. The Society, in fact, *was* Padre Prota; or if those who co-operated with him in administering the affairs of the Society and in writing for the *Emancipatore*—and some of these latter did so ably and vigorously—be counted, the living nucleus of the Society may have included ten or twelve persons.

The Society embraced, in the city and immediate

neighbourhood of Naples, perhaps some three hundred priests in all, and a lay following that, whatever its numbers may have been, proved in the day of adversity to be of little real support.

During probably the larger part of the first four years of its history, the Società Emancipatrice enjoyed the hearty favour of the Italian Government. Their free quarters in S. Domenico Maggiore were continued to them; the seven Palatine Churches, to which reference has already been made, were entrusted to members of this Society; their pulpits were supplied by their most able preachers; Padre Prota was himself made a *Cavaliere*, and also appointed a government agent for paying some of the pensions due to ex-friars, to those probably of his own Society. And however little the Government may have been interested in the cause of religious reform, it certainly regarded the Society and Padre Prota as valuable allies in its own warfare *against the Papacy*.

But a change in the Ministry, and a complete revolution in the policy of the Italian Government, placed these priests in a very different position. As in the case of the signers of the Memorial of Passaglia, and in that of Mongini (in both of which those who had been encouraged to run great risks by promises of protection by one government, were unhesitatingly abandoned by another), so now, the whole Società Emancipatrice was promptly offered up a holocaust to the new policy. In the fall of 1866, Baron Ricasoli attempted to inaugurate a "Free Church in a Free State" by the strange step

of simply ceding the power which the State possessed of partially protecting the Church and of moderating the tyranny of Rome (a policy which is, however, explained by the remembrance how far, to the Italian, the Papacy *is* the Church), and, in Naples, the blow fell of course, instantly, upon Padre Protà and his followers. Riario Sforza, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, was freely permitted to return and to resume the jurisdiction of his See; and even the reserved authority of the Government and Chaplain-General over the Palatine Churches was renounced in his favour. Inquiries were, at the same time, made of the Prefect of Naples respecting Protà and his Society. The Prefect, who was devoted to the Holy See, reported *most unfavourably* concerning them; and Padre Protà, with his associates, was removed from the Convent of San Domenico, on the alleged ground of gross immorality.

To this charge it will suffice to say that while *it is beyond any dispute* that the Society as a whole was a very mixed aggregation of just such "*liberal priests*," good, bad, and indifferent, as are included within the most comprehensive use of the term in the fifth chapter; at the same time, whether as regards them all or Protà in especial, there was such a coincidence between the change of policy on the part of the Government and this discovery, as must utterly destroy the value of this charge of the Prefect and the course of the Government, *as evidence*. Had Protà and the Society been never so unprincipled, they would have continued to be protected, honoured, and rewarded as long as they were serviceable

to the Government policy: had they been immaculate, the result would have been just the same upon the reversal of that policy. The favour of one government proves nothing in their favour; and the abandonment of another proves nothing to their injury.

Of course immediately after the Prefect had thus set the example by ejecting Padre Prota and the Committee of the society from S. Domenico, Archbishop Sforza followed it by ejecting the members of the Society from the Palatine Churches; and this step was, in January, 1867, followed up by a sweeping suspension of the entire body of priests belonging to the *Società Emancipatrice*, until they should severally be reconciled to the Church. This reconciliation was only to be effected by taking a cruel oath, dictated by the Archbishop himself, which amounted not merely to a renunciation of the Society and of its anti-Papal or reforming principles, but even to an abjuration of their civil allegiance as Italian citizens.

These priests were almost wholly from the lower classes. They were neither educated for, nor capable of, any other than the routine functions of the priesthood; and of course have, with the fewest exceptions, no other or independent resources.

This sentence of suspension was, therefore, in almost every instance, equivalent to a sentence of *literal exposure to starvation*; and it fell on the whole membership of the *Società Emancipatrice*, within the jurisdiction of Archbishop Sforza, to the number, perhaps, of three hundred. When, therefore, it is remembered to how

small an extent their position as Liberal priests implied any religious principles; and, on the other hand, how thoroughly Romish training crushes out of these men any thing like moral courage, or disposition to suffer for *any* principle, unless in unquestioning submission to the orders of their ecclesiastical superiors,—there will be little cause of surprise, that far the larger portion of these three hundred yielded, renounced the Società and its cause alike and were reconciled to Rome; or, as in some instances, fleeing before the storm, left Naples, and seeking their original homes and families, were scattered over various parts of Italy. It is rather a matter of surprise, that so many remained firm. What the number may have been, is a question concerning which it has been hard to get at the truth. The *Emancipatore Cattolico* put forth what must have been an exaggerated statement, in its plea for these suspended priests. A diligent gathering and comparison of evidence constrains the belief that in March following there could not have been at the extreme over eighty priests remaining in suspension; and of these, several had at least *some* other resources upon which they were able to depend. Of *these* the majority *were utterly destitute*; and the pressure of poverty and the cajoling of the Archbishop—who, it is said, made their return easy—together succeeded in reducing to submission about thirty more.

In the spring of 1867, therefore, there were about *fifty* priests remaining in suspension; and if to these be added some eight or ten others who had previously

withdrawn from clerical functions, and did not therefore practically feel the censure, there results some *sixty* priests as the effective strength of the Society in Naples and vicinity since these events. Many of these were most probably saved, for some time, from extremest want and suffering, only by foreign charity.

Among these few priests who stood firm, resisting not merely threats and prospective want, but, on the other hand, it is asserted, quite tempting overtures from Rome, was Padre Prota himself; and he was able, it seems, to inspire with the same firmness those who were gathered immediately around him. Of the Council of Presidency, three—*Matera*, *Capurro*, and *Ruggiero*—adhered closely to his fortunes, and are, probably, wholly destitute; one Vice-President, *Barilla* (the former director of the *Colonna*), had long since given up his clerical character, and was practising law; while the Secretary, *Persiani*, escaped in consequence of some anomalous circumstance. These, with some thirty or possibly forty more at most, continued, and continue perhaps to the present time, to adhere to Prota and to the cause of the Emancipation Society. From place to place the Society and its President have removed their quarters and the office of the *Emancipatore Cattolico*; but that journal has not been stopped. Padre Prota has found help to meet the expense; his own vigorous pen is constantly at work; and the services of his *collaboratori*—*Barilla*, *Fiore*, *Semmola*, *Coppola*, and others—are equally unwearying.

One of the first results of the determined position

which these men assumed and have since maintained, was exclusion from any participation in public worship and especially from the sacraments of the Church. Early in March, therefore,—apparently as a measure of necessity,—an Oratory was opened on the premises of the Società, and Padre Capurro formally appointed its officiating priest.

Such is an outline of the sad, strange, varied story of the *Società Emancipatrice*. It has a genuine claim upon our sympathy, and, in some respects, upon our admiration; while, at the same time, it is burdened with the disappointment of many hopes.

It must be—as it has already been admitted—that the Society as a whole has been and even is still of far too mixed a character to be considered a body of *religious* reformers; while those who have bravely borne persecution, even for political principles, are deserving of due respect.

The *Emancipatore Cattolico* has but a limited circulation, and that in South Italy, especially in Calabria, the native province of Protà himself. It is conducted with decided ability; it has been maintained and carried on with indomitable perseverance; and its articles have often been eminently vigorous and effective. But it has never really reached the true conception of religious truth or spirituality as the great want of the Church; nor has it really risen above either the sphere or the tone of politico-ecclesiastical controversy. Within the range of its circulation, whatever that may be, it can only be regarded as the organ and representative of that *third class of politico-ecclesiastical* reformers, to which

has been freely granted the credit of sincerity and earnestness in the cause of reform to the limited extent to which they are capable of realizing and appreciating the need of it.

The relation which Dr. Protà and the *Emancipatore Cattolico* have thus, for six years, held towards the progressive section of the reformers in South Italy, Mongini has lately undertaken to occupy towards the more advanced friends of reform in the North.

The circumstances have been mentioned which induced this worthy priest to withdraw from the *Esaminatore* when he was displeased at the attempt of the Director to moderate his impetuous counsels. But Mongini was too much in earnest to rest quietly without some vehicle of his exhortations to his brethren and of his controversy with the Papacy; and on the first of the year 1868 there appeared the first number of a good-sized and very attractively printed weekly, entitled the "*Unità Cristiana*." Name and style were evidently suggested by the belligerent propensity of the zealous Parroco. There is published in Turin a well-known journal, the *Unità Cattolica*, an unscrupulous and bitterly ultramontane organ of the Jesuits and the Curia Romana. Mongini assigned it to himself as his speciality to wage uncompromising warfare with this journal, exposing its false assertions, and combating its false arguments. The *Unità Cristiana* received a name suggestive of this intention, and in appearance it resembled it as nearly as possible. The title was in almost the same style of lettering; and the vignette heading was identical.

An amusing result followed from this latter fact almost at the very start. The vignette of the *Unità Cattolica* was a Cross wreathed with a Crown of thorns, and a scroll bearing the words, "*Ecce Signum Crucis ; Fugite Partes Adversæ.*" The new reforming journal placed over its title identically the same symbol, substituting, however, the text, "*Omnia Traham ad Me Ipsum.*" "*Tutto Trarrò a Me.*" In the next issue, the Cross and Crown of thorns, together with the legend, disappeared from the Jesuit journal, and in its place was more appropriately substituted the Papal Tiara and crossed keys.

From that time to this, the *Unità Cristiana* has kept up the contest with unsparing rigour and unabated ability: number by number it replies to the *Unità Cattolica*, and is at least doing something to enlighten the good people of Turin upon the principles of Romanism, and destroy their superstitious reverence for the Papacy. Mongini does not, however, as an Editor, take the lofty stand which he generally occupied as a contributor to the *Esaminatore*. His paper contents itself—thus far at least—with a scheme of reform which does not rise above politico-ecclesiastical and moral considerations; and, being conducted in a manner something too roughly polemical to persuade or influence those from whom it differs, or to win a fair hearing for his arguments, there is room for doubt whether the *Unità Cristiana* is really doing as much good, or accomplishing as much for reform, as its honest editor thinks, or so good and so earnest a man ought to be able to effect.

CHAPTER IX.

REFORMING PREACHERS AND OTHER AGENCIES.

THE most important agencies and developments of the Catholic Reform Movement in the Italian Church have now been passed in review, and such account given of them as could readily be condensed into a statement like the present.

It remains now, in this chapter, to gather together some reference to other illustrations of this movement, on the part of other worthy priests; and then, in the chapter following, to speak of the active *lay* interest which has thus far been evoked.

A man most thoroughly deserving of respect and esteem, to whom allusion has been already made, is that noble but most erratic Piedmontese priest, Don *Guiseppè Ambrogio*. He was some years since a parish priest in the Diocese of Mondovi (whose Bishop has been somewhat known as the author of "*The Rings*," an extreme illustration of the combined Mariolatry and worldliness of the Church of Rome—see Wordsworth's "*Tour in Italy*," vol. i. Preface, p. li); but his preaching becoming

too frank and far too pungent to please his ecclesiastical superiors, he was driven from his parish, and suspended *a divinis*, and afterwards excommunicated for not submitting to be silenced. But neither did this stop him. If he was forbidden the pulpits, there remained the piazzas; and a popular audience, in the present temper of the Italian mind, would listen quite as attentively to a preacher outside as within the church.

From that time to this, therefore,—now some six or eight years,—Don Ambrogio, accepting poverty and reviling and persecution, has travelled over Piedmont and Lombardy, as he has been able, preaching boldly to the people wherever he could find those who would hear him, denouncing the usurpations and tyranny of the Pope and the corruptions of the Church, proclaiming the moral and spiritual character of the Gospel and the need of reform, alike for the temporal interests of Italy and for the religious welfare of the Italian people.

He declares, in the plainest language, that he is not a "*Protestant*," nor, on the other hand, does he acknowledge any allegiance to the "*Papistical Sect*" which now unhappily dominates over the Church; but he is a "*Catholic priest*" of the Church of Christ, owning allegiance to the Church and to all the judgments and canons of the Church, lawfully enacted in accordance with its great fundamental law, the Revealed Word of God; willing to submit to the rightful and godly jurisdiction of his own Bishop, but recognizing the Bishop of Rome as simply Bishop of another Diocese, the equal of his own Diocesan, except so far as, by voluntary

ecclesiastical agreement, he might be recognized as the Primate of the Church in the kingdom of Italy. He takes the Bible in one hand, which he freely furnishes to those who will read it, and in the other certain little terse, striking dialogues, printed on a single sheet, full of home-thrusts and plain teachings, and which he sells for a trifle just sufficient to pay the cost of printing them.

The titles of these Dialogues will cast some light upon the usual topics of Don Ambrogio's preaching.

The first series are "*Dialogues between a Priest of the Italian Church and*"—according to one title—"another Priest of the Pope's Church;" according to another—"another of the Papistical Sect;" to another—a "*Prete Papalino*," &c. Of these, the first Dialogue expounds the distinction so emphatically insisted on; the second is of "*Camillo Benso di Cavour*;" the third is headed—"160,000 *Superfluous Priests*;" the fourth—"The *Brigand Priests*;" the fifth discusses "*Purgatory*;" and the sixth—"The *Confessional*." The other series, preceded by a sheet devoted to the "*Principles and Rules of the Catholic, Apostolic, Italian Church*," refer to the "*Plagues of Italy*." Of these, each dialogue refers to one of these plagues, of which the first is—"The *Pope-King*;" the second, "*The Friars and Nuns*;" the third, "*The Celibacy of the Priests*;" the fourth, "*The higher retrograde Clergy*;" and the fifth, "*Papistical Superstitions*." The second of these plagues has been pretty well abated since Don Ambrogio began to preach; but he says that it is just as well that the people should still be reminded

what a plague it has been, and would be again, should the old régime be restored. He has also just found means to publish a little pamphlet on "*The abuse of Power and the Papacy, the two greatest obstacles to Italian Unity and Independence.*"

Don Ambrogio is entirely dependent, as he says, "upon the provision which God makes to sustain him, and to enable him to prosecute his apostolic journeys." Whenever means sufficient from any charitable source has been obtained, he chooses a route, and spends a few weeks going from place to place, preaching daily and oftener, wherever an opportunity or an audience offers. He preaches with even reckless daring, on one occasion even addressing a congregation from the steps of the Milan Cathedral, while his own Diocesan, the Bishop of Mondovi, was preaching to another within; and has been imprisoned in consequence no less than *seventeen* times at the instance of the Church authorities, who have found magistrates subservient enough to construe such preaching into a punishable breach of the peace. His popularity as a preacher is illustrated by the fact, that on one occasion he was hurriedly carried by the populace of Ivrea into a church, where he was compelled to address them in despite of the Parroco, and almost as much against his own will, for he is careful not to intrude upon the rightful privileges of the clergy, or the peace of the Church. So lately as the 25th of June, 1868, after having preached openly on the two preceding days at Pavia, he was accosted at his lodgings by an officer and others of the police, and his promise

demanded that he would preach there no more. This he refused to give, when he was seized forcibly, without hearing by a magistrate, imprisoned for five days, and then sent under guard to Turin, where, however, the magistrate to whom he was delivered instantly restored him to liberty.

A few notes from one of these open-air sermons will perhaps convey some impression of his style of preaching. They are scarce more than phrases and sentences caught down in fragments, at the expense of losing those which immediately followed in his rapid, vehement utterance.

It was on a bright afternoon in May, 1867, when the writer found Don Ambrogio preaching under one of the broad arcades of Turin, to an extemporized audience. He stood upon a chair near the wall, by the door of a café, plainly dressed in black, with a small metal crucifix hanging from his neck. Leaving a little space just around him, the crowd spread in both directions, about 150 in number, chiefly tradespeople and mechanics, some soldiers, some very respectable-looking women, and a few gentlemen. His manner was at times *serious* and *solemn*, again sarcastic and satirical, and then again he spoke with a burning impetuosity. Sometimes he apostrophized Christianity, and sometimes Italy, with great tenderness and beauty of language. He often made points of great antithetical power; and though he never smiled himself during his preaching, or showed any sense of humour, his audience sometimes laughed at such hits, clapped their hands, or otherwise applauded

vehemently—shouts even of “*Bravo, Don Ambrogio, bravo, bravissimo!*” “*Ha ragione, Don Ambrogio!*” &c., often interrupting him, showing that he had their full sympathy, especially in every blow he aimed at the Papacy.

He contrasted the *humility* of St. Peter and the pride and power of the Popes;—the religion of love and forbearance which the Apostles preached, with the discord which the Papacy had sown in the world, and in which it was now involving Italy. Again—referring to the probable new dogma of the Temporal Power—he said, “Come, let us see what this new dogma is—what does it amount to? Christ said, ‘My kingdom is not of this world:’ the Pope says, ‘But *my* kingdom *is!*’ Christ said, ‘If My kingdom *were* of this world, *then* would My servants fight:’ the Pope therefore consistently adds, ‘Since *my* kingdom is of this world, then must *my* servants fight!’ So the two kingdoms are confessedly not only different, but opposed to each other, and the dogma of the temporal power will therefore make it *de fide* that the Pope is Antichrist! Is it not so?” (Shouts of “Bravo, Don Ambrogio!”) Still again, “The Pope is the successor of St. Peter, and our Bishops are successors of the Apostles. How are they successors? Our Saviour sent *them* to teach the people and to preach the Gospel. Do the Pope and the Bishops then teach and preach? Oh no! they hand all that over to others. And they? They bless! They do what? They *bless*. Whom? The people. How? With their *fingers*. Not with their words, not with their godly counsel, not with

the example of their lives? Oh, by no means—only with their fingers—*so!*”

He generally dwells, it seems, upon the condition and needs of the Church, the dangers with which Italy is threatened on account of its corruption, its worldliness and its exorbitant ambition; again he sets before his audience the character of true religion, of true Christianity; and sometimes also he brings the same forcible style to bear in pressing home more *personal* religious truths upon his hearers.

Don Ambrogio is entirely dependent on such aid and support as Christian charity has furnished him; and more than once, when all other resources had failed, he has had reason to regard his imprisonment in the light of a providential provision. He is tall and thin—all fire and nerve; a clear open eye, which looks one fully in the face; a warm, loving heart, which sometimes in conversation lights up a countenance usually stern, with a most sweet smile; but every muscle of his face marks positive convictions, uncalculating self-devotion and unflinching resolution and determination.

Don Ambrogio works with no one else—like no one else; he has his own mission, and from the discharge of that nothing can swerve him—in that career nothing can daunt him. He declares that it is his work to raise up among the people such a desire for reform that they will support it if the clergy bring it about of their own will, and if not, *demand* it. He could, perhaps, have no place in any humanly-organized scheme of operations; but in his own erratic and strange way he is doing the

work God has assigned him, and he is doing it honestly, nobly, and fearlessly.

Quite an interesting account of this eccentric priest will be found in Mr. Talmadge's "Letters from Florence," pp. 137—142.

Another episode in the story of this struggle for reform, worthy of record and worthy of a better issue than it had, was the attempt to provide for the Neapolitan priests left destitute by the Archbishop's sentence, by means of an *Asilo da Lavoro*.

One of the seven Palatine churches of Naples, to which reference has already been made, is that of *Gesu Nuovo*, of which, for a few years before 1867, Padre Matera, Vice-President of the Emancipation Society, was the Rector. It was in the eyes of Rome an infected church, a head-quarters of liberalism and reform, and was even laid under an interdict. On the clerical staff of this church, there was, for over three years past, a preacher of singular eloquence, power, and acceptability—an ex-Franciscan Friar, whose real name was *Salvatore Rhagghianti*, but who was generally known by the combination of his conventual name with that of the little town on the Tuscan coast from which he came, as *Padre Gabriello da Viareggio*. He had followed Garibaldi as Chaplain, in the Sicilian expedition in 1860, and he entered Naples with the army of the liberator. In 1863 he was appointed *Predicatore* to the Church of *Gesu Nuovo*. In this position he remained till the 13th of December, 1866, when, foreseeing the coming storm, he anticipated his dismissal by resigning his office, with

no little dignity, into the hands of the former Questor of Naples, by whom he had been appointed.

Padre da Viareggio's resignation of his Preachership was soon followed by suspension *a divinis*, and he was thus cut off from all means of support, save the bare pittance of his pension as an ex-friar, i. e. 20 Italian lire per month, and even that paid irregularly, if at all. In this strait, his family besought him to return to them, but this he refused to do. Declaring that he would share the lot of his persecuted brethren, he resolved to gather around him a few of those whom he thought his more worthy fellow-sufferers, and open what he called an *Asilo di Lavoro*, in which suspended priests of respectable character, and in real want in consequence of their suspension, might find at once a refuge and a helping hand in need, and be united in some practical work for their own support and for the cause of Italian reform.

With the assistance of some foreign aid which was offered him, a temporary apartment was first secured, it being taken only till the 4th of May, at the expense of 150 Italian lire. Seven other priests and six laymen—fourteen in all—united their names with that of Da Viareggio as founders of this Asilo; and on the 24th February it was formally inaugurated in the presence of eighty-three persons. On this occasion, *Padre da Viareggio* was elected Director, and *Padre Giovanni Fera* Secretary of the institution.

In opening this meeting, the former made a brief but stirring address, dwelling upon the social dignity and Christian duty of labour; indicating the kind of

work which the characteristics of the age and the special circumstances of the country required of her children, and particularly of that portion of the priesthood who were in sympathy with these; and protesting that they did not separate from the Church, but, that being forcibly and wrongfully deprived of the power of exercising their ministry, they adapted themselves to the position in which they were placed, through no fault or desire of their own; and holding that ministry in abeyance, wished only to be found working for their own support, for the Church, and for Italy.

Padre Gabriello da Viareggio is an impressive-looking man. He is about forty-two years old, tall, of a vigorous, stout frame, and full and fresh in face. His movements are slow and deliberate, and his air and manner what seems at one moment hauteur, at another abstraction, at another embarrassment. His eye is large, clear, and open, and there is a calm, quiet, and unpretending dignity about the man, in keeping alike with the solemnity of his spiritual, and the loneliness, poverty, and dependence of his worldly position. His voice is gentle and persuasive, and his words of slow and measured utterance. His long hair is put back from his forehead, and his whole appearance is striking and prepossessing.

At times seemingly half lost in dreamy speculation, the very earnestness of his pleas sound like the utterance of one speaking under unseen guidance and of things veiled to ordinary gaze. He is not a practical man, though under the influence of most practically benevolent principles and impulses; and he is far better fitted to

inspire others to schemes of good than to guide them in their accomplishment. He is a dreamer and an enthusiast; and he is especially an *orator*: a man far better qualified probably to move than to regulate—arouse than to guide the energies of others.

It was not at all strange that such a man should have conceived the idea of this *Asilo da Lavoro*; but it did seem strange that he should have gotten it in operation, and that he should have carried it on, as was the result, for fourteen months, nor is it at all probable that he could have done either, but for the efficient services of his devoted friend and Secretary Padre Fera.

This man was almost the reverse of Da Viareggio—his perfect complement. He is much older, short and slight in figure; though calm in manner, active, industrious, and business-like, utterly lacking in his friend's tendency for expansive plans and visions of the *future*, but supplying the lack by a shrewd common sense, a practical judgment, and a perfect comprehension of the *present*. While Da Viareggio has certainly great powers and capabilities as an orator and a reformer, whenever the providence of God provides him with the sphere and opportunity for exercising them, Fera is far better fitted to pursue usefully the ordinary path of life, and to sow the quiet seeds of good and truth beside all waters.

But to return to the *Asilo*.

Fifteen suspended priests, supposed to be of worthy personal character, were received into the *Asilo*, furnished with a lira a day, to provide them with the neces-

saries of life, and employed in such manner as circumstances allowed in contributing to the usefulness of that institution. Some were employed in teaching children during the day; some had charge of night schools for labouring men. They were gathered together one evening in the week for the examination and discussion of some ecclesiastical, moral, or doctrinal question; and on every Sunday a conference was held, which was attended, not only by the priests of the Asilo, but by many others, both clerical and lay, men and women.

On Sunday, May 12, 1867, the writer, with an English friend, visited one of the weekly Conferences. There were about fifty persons assembled, including some three or four priests, two officers of the Italian army, *eleven* very respectably-dressed females, and others, apparently both of the professional and trading classes. The respectful deportment and apparent interest of all present were most remarkable throughout the exercises. Padre da Viareggio seated himself behind a table on the platform, and at the commencement of the service, rising, he first briefly, and in an almost ejaculatory manner, invoked the presence and aid of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He then read, still standing, the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for the day—the third Sunday after Easter—both in Italian. The appropriateness of the petition was striking—"Almighty God, who showest to them who are in error the light of Thy truth," &c. Then, as the people sat down, he added, "Having thus united, brethren, in our own language in using the same prayer

which is to-day read in our Church in Latin, I will read part of the second chapter of St. Peter's first Epistle." And after this he introduced the Gospel in the same way, as being that which was read in Latin in their churches. This Collect, Epistle, and Gospel he had taken from the Christian Knowledge Society's translation of the English Prayer Book. The 108th Psalm was also read in Italian by the Padre only, not chanted, nor even read antiphonally. After this he entered upon his discourse, which was to-day upon "The *necessity* of a religious reform in Italy." It was delivered from an outline of notes, which he held in his hand, yet scarcely referred to—*memoriter* I think—in a quiet, deliberate, not unimpassioned manner, with a distinctness of utterance, a beauty of accent and language, which was very impressive, and which evidently secured the close attention of his hearers, though his line of thought was sometimes above their appreciation.

He took no text. He declared that the Church of Christ must of necessity be both Catholic and National; Catholic, to fit her for her aggressive and expansive work; National, to fit her for her local work; Catholic, to preserve unity between the different parts of the Church itself; National, to preserve harmony between those parts and the civil society in which they are placed; Catholic, in its faith, and its history, and in Christian love; and National, in rites, ceremonies, and discipline. He then took the ground that the internal divisions of the Church proved that her Catholicity was

greatly marred, if not lost; and that the disgraceful state of Italy proved that she certainly was in no sense truly national. A reform in both these respects, he concluded, was the only mode (and therefore the absolute need) of restoring these her great attributes; attributes necessary for the fulfilment of her Divine mission among men, of healing her sore divisions, and putting an end to the warfare between their country and the Church.

Such were the early days of the Asilo, which have been spoken of thus, much more for the sake of the two men who inaugurated it than for that of the institution in itself. *They* still remain—worthy of our sympathy, deserving of our interest: the *Asilo* is a thing of the past.

For more than a year suspended priests were one by one received into the Asilo; and one by one they disappeared, or were found to be unworthy and were dismissed, until at last, in the spring of 1868, in consequence alike of the worthless character of the class whom it had attempted to benefit and to elevate, and of the utter apathy of the community that gave the effort professions of sympathy and abundance of praise, but no pecuniary support, the Asilo was finally abandoned.

Padri de Viareggio and Fera have throughout this experience of more than a year's vain struggle proved themselves—to those in Naples who watched them closely—honest, worthy, faithful men. They have withdrawn together, for they are inseparable in their

mutual devotion, and in a retired residence in a narrow street of Naples, uniting their trifling pensions from the State and their labours in teaching a few poor boys for a scarcely more than nominal recompense, they are now struggling on—the man who has preached before a Court and filled churches by his eloquence, and who may yet speak words that will not be forgotten by nobler and larger audiences yet, this man and his faithful friend and fellow-priest are struggling on, trusting to God, and waiting His time, when they may again do something for reform in their beloved Church.

Full reference has already been made to the services rendered to the cause of reform in its earlier years by certain individual writers, whose various pamphlets in a great measure inaugurated the present movement.

This mode of influencing and maturing public opinion in the Church has its own advantages; and its value has by no means been destroyed by the provision of such organs of discussion as the *Esaminatore*, the *Emancipatore Cattolico*, and the *Unità Cristiana*. Accordingly, such pamphlets have continued to appear from time to time, continually adding new names to the list of openly acknowledged advocates of, and labourers for, reform in the Church.

It will not be necessary to refer to many of these by name; the fact that different ecclesiastics are still coming forward in all parts of Italy, with their several contributions to the discussion of reform in this special manner, as well as by means of the more continuous,

but more ephemeral medium of a journal, is the more important point.

Nevertheless two or three of these later publications should be cited.

Of these, probably the most important is a discussion upon "*La Libera Chiesa*," by Antonio Magrassi, Parroco of Tortona. This is perhaps rather the first part of a number of "*Dissertazioni Storico-Canoniche*," of which others are yet to follow, and is devoted to the subject of the "*Election of Bishops by the Clergy and the People*."

This pamphlet is one of considerable ability and of most sound principles, and the author, who has boldly published it from his post as a parish priest, ought to be better known than he has been heretofore.

A few lines from the introduction, "*An appeal to the Catholics of Italy*," will give the key-note of the author's feeling; and another brief extract from the closing chapter, "*The practical conclusion*," will convey some idea of his line of thought.

In the first, after referring to what Italy has already accomplished in securing her civil freedom, he continues:—"But now, the Italian people, *as Catholics*, have another mission to fulfil still more sublime—a mission which interests all humanity, *the reform of Catholicism*. To promote the reform of the Catholic Church is to labour for the concord of all religious minds, for the triumph of revealed truth, for the emancipation of the intellect. The Italian people have taught the world how to vindicate the rights of oppressed nations; now

it should teach humanity how they may emancipate their consciences from the tyranny of the spiritual power,—how they may bridle the abuses of ecclesiastical authority.”

(Do such lines give any evidence that the Italian clergy are at all disposed to receive their instruction on the subject of reform from foreigners, or to have foreigners come to Italy to guide them?)

In the concluding chapter, he declares that for the civil authority to resign the nomination of Bishops to the Pope, as Ricasoli proposed to do, would be very far from giving freedom to the Church. “Thus,” he writes, “the Church would be remanded to a servitude more deplorable than the present, because it would be putting still further off its common rights. *It would not be a progress, but a retrogression.*” He claims, therefore, that the State should renounce the nomination of Bishops in favour of the clergy and the people; only gradually parting with its control, as it sees that it passes into the hands which ought to wield it, while it protects the clergy and people, if need be, in the exercise of this right by recognizing such Bishops only as are so elected. Finally, Don Magrassi closes this vigorous discussion by reminding the Pope and the Church of the maxim of S. Leo, confirmed in the eleventh century by Nicolas II., “Those only ought to be numbered among the Bishops, who are elected by the clergy, accepted by the people, consecrated by the Bishops of the Province with the judgment of the Metropolitan.”

Another publication worthy of remark is “The Public

Confessions of a Prisoner in the Roman Inquisition; and the Origin of the Evils of the Catholic Church."

This rather ponderous volume, issued in 1865, is by *Paolo Panzani*, formerly a friar of the "Capprecini Convent" at Rome. It seems that in 1854, this worthy friar three times attempted anonymously to press upon the authorities of the Church his views upon the necessity of a thorough reform, but of course in vain. In 1859, attempting to print them, the director of the press carried his manuscripts to Antonelli; and he was at once seized and thrown into prison. After six months, i. e. in January, 1860, he was at length tried and formally condemned to suspension from all priestly functions and to twelve years' imprisonment; but being a Corsican, the French ambassador subsequently petitioned in his behalf, and he was released in 1862. His papers were at the same time all destroyed.

Panzani immediately repaired to Turin, re-wrote his work from memory, and published it. He now lives in that city, partly dependent upon the charity of a brother priest, partly supporting himself as a gardener and upon the receipts from the occasional sale of a copy of his work. This volume itself is chiefly a discussion of obligatory clerical celibacy and vows of chastity; an argument from Scripture and Catholic doctrine, from the evils which result from it, and the good that would result from a reversed discipline, and also a reply to various objectors and objections. It is an immense ill-digested mass of valuable material, of which it was said by a prominent ecclesiastic of the Church, that if it had

not been so written that it would not be read, it would have been sufficient of itself to compel a reform in the Church in that particular.

From Bari, the vexed discussion of the relations of Church and State receives also attention in a little work of Monsignore Ciro Tinelli upon "The True Idea of the Free Church in a Free State," which is spoken of as of some ability.

CHAPTER X.

LAY CO-OPERATION.

Most true it is, as has been already stated, that the utter indifference of the Italian laity to all religious questions, and even to the subject of a Catholic reform, is *almost* universal.

But, nevertheless, there have been noble exceptions even to this general rule; and there is good reason to hope that they will soon become far from infrequent. The rebuke of the *Diritto* will be remembered. Public men also once thought it at least culpably premature to thrust religious questions like these upon the attention of a people already sorely perplexed with problems of a more secular character. But not long since, the Director of the *Esaminatore* received a letter from an eminent member of Parliament, saying that although he had condemned that journal and the policy of its supporters on this ground, he was at length convinced that the reformation of the Church was absolutely essential to the solution of the political difficulties of Italy; and that

statesmen *as such*, religious considerations wholly aside, must lend all their influence to encourage such a reform, if they wish ever to see the civil affairs of Italy at rest. He added, moreover, that such was steadily becoming the conviction of many other members of Parliament besides himself.

It can be now no breach of confidence to say, that the eminent statesman Baron Ricasoli has long shared in these views; and that he gives to the *Esaminatore*, as a private citizen, substantial proofs of his personal interest and approval. This sympathy is doubtless warmer, from the fact that there has existed from early years a personal friendship between Dr. Bianciardi and himself.

Of the interest taken in the course of the *Esaminatore* by another statesman, Count Mamiani, mention has been already made.

But above and before all others, the name most familiar to our ears and most closely associated among Italian laymen with the hope of reform in the Italian Church, is that of the venerable Count *Ottavio Tasca*.

This most excellent and devoted labourer in the cause of Italian Reform is now so well known, that it seems scarcely necessary to repeat what has been again and again referred to in the Reports of the Anglo-Continental Society, and in the pages of the *American Quarterly Church Review*. An old soldier, who suffers yet at times from a wound received at Leipsic; a poet who has made "*The Christian Year*" and the "*Christian Ballads*" part of the literature of his native land; a patriot, the devastation of whose ancestral villa at Seriate still tells

the tale of Austrian havoc during his ten years' exile,— he has devoted the remnant of a green old age to his country and to the cause of reform.

The simple beauty of his childlike piety wins the love of the stranger, as it has commanded the reverence of his countrymen. Devoting to the one sacred object so dear to him, all he can save by economy from the remains of his confiscated fortune, and all that are left to him of his closing years, and assisted by his son, the heir to his father's practical piety, he is ever engaged translating, publishing, or distributing, so far as means can be found and strength will allow, whatever may be most useful to his cause, and wherever he can find a hand and a heart ready to receive.

Despite the denunciations of the intollerant Bishop of his Diocese, that of Bergamo, he has sown our Litany, and his own little Soldier's Prayer Books taken from our Services, broadcast in the army and in the military hospitals. He has issued a collection of hymns translated from English sources; he has rescued, and with the aid of foreign charity is supporting, eight poor persecuted priests excommunicated for their liberal views, and employs them as his colporteurs in all the neighbouring valleys; and preaching as powerfully with his life as with his lips, a physician alike of body and soul, he served, during the summer of 1867, as health-officer for his commune, contending at once with the Cholera and with its terrors, that he might set an example of fidelity to the highest social duties of a citizen, that he might while he had time do good to his fellow-men, and that

he might avail himself of new opportunities for commending Divine truth by his lips, and illustrating its precepts by his example. He has, in fact, been an apostle for Central Lombardy.

The most useful, perhaps, of Count Tasca's translations and publications have been Hirscher's "*Present State of the Church*" (known in England and America by the translation published by Bishop Coxe under the title, "*Sympathies of the Continent*"), the Litany especially, and his little "*Soldier's Prayer Book*." Of these latter two, edition after edition has been published and scattered broadcast by himself and his poor priests.

Count Tasca has little more left to give now than himself; he asks our help to enable him to sustain his eight priestly victims of episcopal tyranny, to enable him to publish new editions of his hymns, and Litany, and "*Soldier's Prayer Book*," to enable him to continue, in fine, in that faithful service to which he seems to have been so singularly called.

A single, but a beautifully striking instance of Count Tasca's faithful efforts to introduce the Bible to his countrymen, introduces us to another noble heart and devoted labourer for reform, Deputy *Morretti*, of *Brembana*. The story is thus told by the Rev. Mr. Hogg, in his "*Letter to the Bishop of Pennsylvania*."

"A copy of the Bible given by him (Count Tasca) a few years ago to Signore Andrea Morretti, then Deputy (for Bergamo) in the Italian Parliament, appears, under God's blessing, to have produced such a thorough change in Signore Morretti's views as to have led to his writing

two of the most remarkable recent Italian pamphlets—‘*The Word of God and the Modern Pharisees*,’ and, as a sequel to it, ‘*The Grand Error of the Modern Pharisees*’ (Bergamo, 1864 and 1866). No one, on reading these books, can fail to be struck with the unusual knowledge of Scripture and power of forcibly applying it shown by an Italian gentleman who, as he told Count Tasca himself, had not read the Bible until the Count gave him this copy, not more than five years ago,” i. e. 1862.

Truly this Bible was seed well sown in a kindly soil, and were it not wrong to trespass upon ground so private, many an instance could be told to prove how truly the Italian gentleman has not merely familiarized his mind and memory with the words of Holy Scripture, but taken its Christian principles to his heart as practical rules to govern his daily life and intercourse with his fellow-men.

The pamphlets above cited were vigorously denounced by the *Civiltà Cattolica*; and the Bishop and priests of Bergamo managed, in consequence, to secure his defeat at the election following their publication. But when another election came early in 1867, Count Tasca persuaded Morretti again to offer himself as a candidate on the distinct issue as the opponent of the Bishop’s policy and the advocate of reform in the Church. And he was triumphantly elected! He has lately, however, retired from Parliament and public life, and is living in his villa at Brembana, interesting himself chiefly in religious questions, and occasionally writing for the *Esaminatore* or for other objects.

Senator Sciotto-Pintor of Turin, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court in Milan, is another layman of prominence who interests himself deeply in the subject of Church Reform, whose "Letter to the Bishops" assembled at Rome in 1862 for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, is a remarkable illustration of lay feeling on the subject of the needs and condition of the Church. The same may be said also of the "*Parrocchie e Diocesi*" of Dr. Serra-Gropelli of Turin.

There are a few others whose names may not be used in this public way, who are worthy fellow-labourers of such men as these, and whose warm zeal and personal piety give bright and shining illustrations of what many of Italy's sons might be, if her Church were so reformed as to be able to lead them back to the cross of Christ.

A single illustration more will suffice. It is one drawn from a very different—from a much humbler class; but "all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." It is an incident of personal experience, and no apology is made for reproducing the story here in the very words in which it was written at the time.

"A pleasant little episode in my experience in Naples deserves also to be remembered here. Giovanni De Sanctis is a layman (entirely unconnected with the eminent Protestant minister of the same name) and a teacher. He does not strike me as a man of any special talent, cultivation, or force of character; and I was informed that he had lost a school position, upon which he

was probably dependent, either from lack of attention to his duties, or from inefficiency in discharging them. And yet he is said to be not only an honest and worthy man, but quite earnest in spreading the knowledge of the Bible and of the reform principles among the common people; and that he has a certain marked success in addressing the working classes. This man came to me on Tuesday, May 7th, and asked me to be present on the evening of the following day, at the 'inauguration of a Conference,' which was to be under his direction. It seems that a *trattore*, or public cook, had taken the lead in the matter; had made his own subscription, and collected that of others, until a sufficient sum was obtained to pay the rent of a suitable room, and the expense of furnishing and lighting it for a year in advance; and after this was done, and the place secured and paid for, De Sanctis was invited to meet them regularly there for the purpose of reading and explaining the Bible. I, of course, accepted the invitation and went. De Sanctis called for me and escorted me to the spot, which I certainly never should have found without his guidance. In one of the steep and narrow little streets on the rise of the hill of San Martino, we entered one of the dark, lava-block houses, with which every traveller is familiar, where, up one flight of stairs, we entered a good-sized room, furnished with a table and seat for the speaker at one end, and nearly filled beside with rush-bottomed chairs.

"A stuffed arm-chair, as a seat of honour, had been provided for *me* near the table. In the ante-room, I was formally presented to the *trattore*—or he to me,

I do not know which—and to his wife, who both received my imperfectly expressed congratulations on their efforts and success in this good work, with a sort of harmless gratified pride. The room was full already. Four or five priests, and among them Gabriello and Fera, were there as special guests; some sober matrons, who had evidently just had time to tidy themselves a little after a day's toil; a number of young women and girls, dressed in their best, and some young men, who had been equally careful of their personal appearance, and very many more, directly from their work, in their old coats or shirt-sleeves. De Sanctis read the first chapter of Romans; and after a little introduction, he fastened upon St. Paul's expression of a wish to visit Rome, and launched out in rather rough but vigorous fashion, and great earnestness, even intensity of emphasis and gesture, upon the present need that St. Paul should visit Rome again—or at least some Divinely commissioned influence bringing the truths the Apostle taught; nay, he said, it was more necessary now than then, for it was not now the faith of the Church of Rome, but *its departure from the faith*, which was spoken of throughout the whole world. Padre Gabriello followed him in some remarks, superior in themselves, but not nearly so well adapted to the auditory; and before closing, he asked my permission, and then expressed in my name, the interest of the American Church, on whose behalf, he said, I was here among them. Here, at their request, I pronounced the Benediction in English, and coming out, at least ten or a

dozen persons crowded around me to take my hand, and to thank me and my brethren of the American Church for our sympathy. Some poured forth an almost unintelligible stream of rapid Neapolitan Italian; one mother brought her child to me to bless; one tall, fine-looking young man grasped my hand in both of his, looked in my face without one word, and burst into tears. I could scarcely repress my own tears, as I went out into the still, cool, dark, narrow street, thinking that although, as the reform goes on, dignitaries and theologians might look down upon this commonplace-looking De Sanctis, God has evidently a work for *him* too; and well would it be for the working classes of the Italian cities if there were many more such humble school teachers, and such *trattori* to prepare a field for them."

Thus has been passed in review the more important facts in the story of Catholic Reform in the Italian Church, and such brief account of the leading men and the chief agencies engaged in it, as can properly be made public.

It is, of course, as yet but the story of a yearning—of a hope—of a prayer. God only can tell what future is in store for it—what answer to this prayer. God alone can measure—should that hope be indeed fulfilled, that prayer be answered, these earnest efforts be crowned with ripe and abundant fruit—what unimagined blessings will result not to Italy alone, but to the whole world.

This sketch will have fulfilled its purpose—crude, hasty, and imperfect as it is—if it serve in any measure to aid in awakening an appreciative and a prayerful interest in men who are really labouring, not for Italy alone, but for ourselves, our children, and for all who shall come after us.

SKETCH

OF A

RECENT TOUR IN LOMBARDY AND VENICE.

(Extracted from a Report to the Italian Committee, &c.)

I PASS now to speak of those ecclesiastics, who retaining their position in the Church, retain thus the power, when the time is ripe, to take active practical measures for the accomplishment of a reform in the Church.

These reforming priests belong to every class, though they are chiefly found among the more intelligent and cultivated *Prevosti* and *Parrochi* in and near the larger cathedral cities and towns. Death releases these men from the danger of bitter persecution and their friends from the necessity of caution; and it may therefore serve to suggest what kind of men are yet enlisted in this cause, if I name the losses with which it has met within a year past.

Cavaliere *Andrea Merini*, Prevosto of one of the leading churches of Milan and a senator of the kingdom, was among the most devoted supporters of the *Esaminatore*: Monsignore *Bignami*, a Major Canon of the

cathedral in the same capital, a learned man of high-toned religious principles and wide influence, was also an earnest friend and advocate of reform ; Prevosto *Barzaccini* of Pieveano, a parish some fifteen miles from Florence, was Dr. Bianciardi's intimate friend and his chief counsellor, in the preparation of his "*History of the Popes*," and a frequent contributor to the *Esaminatore*. These able, godly, and devoted men have been taken away, not from the leadership of the reform school, but from among many other ecclesiastics their peers in every way.

During a late tour in Lombardy and Venetia, in May 1868, I had the privilege of meeting and conferring, in more or less unreserved freedom, with some *twenty-eight or thirty*, I may almost say, of just such men as these : and the results of these interviews have given me a hopeful confidence in the calmly and slowly gathering power of the reform school in the Church of North Italy which I never had before.

In one cathedral city, as a canon of the Duomo assured me, there are over fifty priests in sympathy more or less with the movement. In another, an equally distinguished ecclesiastic told me that *two-thirds* of the parish clergy, as well as the same proportion of the cathedral canons, read the *Esaminatore* with more or less approval, a statement confirmed by several Prevosti and other priests to whom he took me. These are, indeed, special cases, but they are not entirely exceptional ; and there is reason to believe that if two or three of the most intolerant of the Lombard and Venetian Bishops

could be succeeded by liberal men, the statistics of reform in their neighbourhoods would be almost as surprising.

The very fact that these men are reformers in however moderate a degree, implies of course that they all unhesitatingly reject the infallibility of the Pope, and even of the Roman Catholic Church. Upon this point they can be considered as all substantially agreed.

So also upon the necessity of very greatly restraining the power and authority of the Pope. As a general thing they adhere in theory to some kind of pre-eminence for the Bishop of Rome. While none, I think, acknowledge any superiority of order over that of the Episcopate, a general conviction still remains that the Papacy must necessarily be retained as a "centre of unity"—a presiding officer—a supreme Executive of the Church. The most conservative views I heard expressed and the most advanced were alike, to my mind, but *resting-places* for their convictions; under no circumstances can I imagine the Pope consenting to accept such a position as the most papal of these men would assign to him; and as one of the more advanced himself remarked, "Why waste energies in discussing barren theories, which will, in due time, be most satisfactorily controverted by the progress of events?" But an interesting illustration of the extent to which, at the least, they would curb the papal power, may be given in the words of an eminent ecclesiastic, a Monsignore and cathedral canon, and perhaps the most conservative subscriber to the *Esaminatore* I ever met. He was trying

to prove the necessity of all other Churches gathering round the papacy; and admitted the impossibility of it under present circumstances, and the necessity of both an abolition of the *temporal* and a modification of the *spiritual* power; but added that "it was absolutely essential to have a visible, living *centre of unity*." "There could be," he urged, "no harmony in the faith without it. It was not necessary that all Churches should be *in unison*, but they must be in accord, *in harmony*, and therefore it was necessary to have a *Maestro di Capella*. The Pope was this—nothing more. The sacred music should be set before him; he must not alter a note of it; he must not add to or take any thing from it,—he had no authority to do that: but in strict accordance with the music, he must"—and here the Canonico completed his sentence by the most expressive pantomime, waving his hand up and down, to and fro, as if holding an invisible baton, marking time, crescendo, diminuendo, &c.

Another worthy Abate, speaking of the same subject, said, "it was difficult to foresee how the question of Papal supremacy could be settled: it was only certain that it *ought* to be settled in some way, and that way should be humbly sought for by us all together in the spirit of humility and godly love."

Most striking was the language in which some of these priests spoke of the practical result of the Roman Catholic system. For instance, one who fills an important University Professorship, declared to me his conviction that irreligion had spread over Italy just in propor-

tion to the closeness of the relations which different parts of the land had maintained with Rome. He was "more hopeful for Lombardy and Venice; but in the late Papal States the priests had neither considered themselves nor been regarded by others as a sacred ministry of Divine truth and redeeming love, but as instruments of a hated civil misgovernment. They are, therefore, *despised*" (it was a priest in full standing who told me this!), "and have consequently no *self-respect*." "*The Papacy*," continued he, "*has practically crushed out common decent respect for Christianity*."

Another very eminent dignitary of the Church in Lombardy spoke of the Pope as being "morally in schism—the schism not indeed actualized, but existing morally." This same ecclesiastic also said plainly that "the worship of the Church was very unreal, for the worshippers had no intelligent part to take in it;" and on another occasion, when I was speaking of the manner in which some one had defended the Roman Church against the charge of practical idolatry, he replied, "Our divines have two entirely different religious systems: one to put forward in controversy, and which exists only in *theory*; and another very different, for *use*. What do the people know, for instance, about the distinctions of *dulia*, and *hyperdulia*, and *latria*? Our image and saint worship is *practically* idolatrous." And still again, another learned Cathedral dignitary, when I playfully used the words "*us heretics*," replied, soberly putting his hand on mine, almost as if gently checking my levity, "It is the Pope, caro, and the Jesuits who

are the heretics : the Jesuits, who have the Pope now in their hands, using him like a puppet. They have put away the worship of Christ out of the Church, and they divide the actual worship between the Madonna and the Pope, in order that by bringing the intellect and the heart under subjection to an unmanly and sensuous religion, they may the more easily subject the Church, and, if possible, through the Church, the world, to their own rule."

The programmes of reform are very various. The quotations just made will give some idea of the kind of needs most realized. The sense of corruption is often vague and general, rather than specific; very many carefully limit their proposals for reform to matters of discipline, scrupulously reserving dogmas; but usually, I have noticed, on the assumption that dogmas of the faith, being positive and immutable, have of course not been changed. Again, some draw a distinction between those which *really* are and those which are *declared* to be dogmas of the Church, which is pretty much what we should call a distinction between what they ought to be and what they are. A Monsignore, who was too conservative to be able to approve of more than the motives and the general aim of the *Esaminatore*, said to me that "the *discipline* and practical working of the Church needed a thorough revision; but not so the *dogmas*." He added, however, that "what he regarded as the real dogmatic theology of the Church was, in many respects, very different from the accepted theology of the day." He denied that the Papal decree of 1854 really made the

Immaculate Conception a dogma of the Church ; and he also spoke of saint worship, condemning the form which it commonly took, and explaining what he called Catholic doctrine as only inculcating "a reverential meditation and study of their example, and thanksgiving to God for the same."

Other of the reforming ecclesiastics were quite ready to admit the need for reform in respect to dogmas also : a *very* able series of papers upon Roman Dogmatic Theology was contributed to the *Esaminatore* about two years since, and afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form ; and the programme of the *Lettere Piacentine*, without making any such distinction between discipline and dogma, avows the necessity of revising the whole system of the Church, and testing it—preserving or rejecting every thing according as it was found, on an honest inquiry, to be sustained or condemned by Holy Scripture, as interpreted and illustrated by the Primitive Councils and the early Fathers of the Church.

Naturally, therefore, this school of ecclesiastics unite in exalting the Holy Scriptures, and insisting upon their free circulation in the vulgar tongue, among the laity. Tiboni's work upon this subject has been more than once referred to ; and I have yet to find among these priests a single exception to their adherence to the great principle, that the foundations of reform must be laid, and the value and permanence of its results secured, in the wide-spread and thorough study of the Word of God, by the people as well as by the priesthood.

This was the subject of a very earnest conversation, in

one instance, where were present an eminent Cathedral dignitary, two prominent Prevosti, and two curates. On this occasion one of the Prevosti spoke of the prevailing ignorance of the Bible as being one of the greatest difficulties in the way of reform. He asked me when, by whom, and from what sources our English Bible was translated; congratulated us upon having one common version, whose language was familiar alike to all, whereas the Continental nations had different versions, and no one of them had that hold upon the reverent affection of the people that it ought. He thought that one cause of the want of reverence for the Bible prevailing in Europe. He laid great emphasis upon the need of one common, faithful, authoritative Italian version being freely given to the people. Others of the number spoke of the prevailing ignorance of the Bible as depriving the priest largely of his power to teach, since the people would not understand any thing beyond the elements of expository teaching.

None of these ecclesiastics propose any immediate step, but generally regard the work as in the stage of *preparation*. I asked one—a prominently leading mind among them—what he proposed to *do*; “Senta, caro,” replied he, “this is God’s work, not man’s. For God’s work He makes His own occasions. It is for us to prepare for His time; and when He is ready for us to act, He will both indicate to us clearly the time, and show us the way.” Again, another said that he for one looked to the proposed Council to be held at Rome, as it was *then* thought, in December *next*—i. e. 1868—

believing that this would in some way prove an era in the Church, and make clear before their feet the path of the Italian reformers. "From that Council," said he, "God will make His purposes to evolve themselves in a way which we little suspect; and which the Curia Romana and the Jesuits assuredly do not look for." In this hope and confidence, he looked upon Garibaldi's expedition of last fall and defeat at Mentana as most providential. Had he succeeded, this Council could not have been held; and perhaps not, on the other hand, if he had not undertaken this attack on Rome; for it was their triumph and the return of the French which had emboldened the Pope to venture upon this step. Certain it is, that since these events the Papal Court has exhibited an arrogant confidence that quite surpasses itself, and which is perhaps necessary to the ends which God has in view in this coming Council. This certainly is the view of many of the leading reformers; while others look to it, and wait for it, as the last hope of a reforming policy on the part of the authorities of the Church—whose failure is essential to their willingness to act independently.

It was a fond dream of some—indeed at one time it was that of Cardinal d'Andrea—that the Pope would invite to such a Council, should he summon it, the Oriental and the Anglican Episcopate; that they would attend; and that measures would be then and there devised to bring about the reunion of Christendom. It was a hope which manifestly sprung from the heart rather than from the judgment, for I should think that

these men knew too well the constitution of the Roman Curia. But that there exists a wide-spread yearning among the liberal Italian priests for some such a result is a most tangible fact. Indeed, I have had a reason to believe that the growing desire for such mutual consultation and for the reunion of the Church is a power, even among some who are not primarily reformers. An ecclesiastic, noted for his eloquence as a preacher, the elevation of his religious views, and his warm-hearted philosophic liberality, a Cathedral canon, moreover, in whose study I spent a delightful hour of conference upon these subjects, spoke very earnestly to this effect. He frankly told me that he "did not take the *Esaminatore*, because he thought it too advanced, and wanting in proper deference towards the authorities of the Church." But he added, "that in a day when rationalism and infidelity were progressing so fearfully, it was no time for *Christians* to be expending against each other the energies which should be all directed against the common enemies of God, of Christ, and of the souls of men. There should be but two bodies—*believers* and *unbelievers*. The great need of Christianity was the restoration of unity; and no one body should entrench itself in an arrogant infallibility, and demand of all others simply submission. The Latin, the Greek, and the Anglican Churches should all meet on the assumed ground that there might be errors on all sides; and with the determination on each part that no sacrifice which does not involve the *faith* should be wanting to bring about reunion. While such a formal

conference was delayed, he deemed that no single interview between two earnest priests of different Churches, animated by a desire to understand each other's position better, would be in vain."

Others, more advanced in their views and more independent in their course, already begin to look with singular interest upon our Church. I was assured by more than one, to quote language used by a prominent ecclesiastic, "that the Lambeth Conference, its introductory resolution and Encyclical, and its general tone and spirit, so thoroughly and truly Catholic, had made a *profound impression* on the liberal, and especially upon the reforming priests of Italy, and had already exercised an influence in encouraging the reform movement."

I was everywhere questioned about the Anglican Church, but especially about the American branch of it. This was doubtless in part because of my own nationality; but since their ideas of reform are far more clearly defined and advanced in respect to the corruptions in discipline, and since the American ecclesiastical polity, in some of its leading points, is substantially identical with their own ideal, they have shown an intense desire to know more of it. Their whole scheme of a "*Free Church in a Free State*," together with such degree of central authority as they yet concede to the Pope, creates a strong but perhaps not wholly unnatural prejudice against the established position of the Church of England, whose practical results to the Church they, of course, greatly exaggerate.

Again and again I have had occasion to detail, as well as my knowledge of Italian would admit, the exact facts upon the ecclesiastical autonomy of the American Church, our whole process of electing, confirming, and consecrating a bishop; the constitution and practical working of our diocesan and general conventions; and the functions of the laity and modes of securing their active interest and participation in the work of the Church. On this latter point, the presence with me, during part of this tour, of an earnest and devoted lay member of our Church, and his own testimony to these facts, created the deepest interest, such as none can understand who do not know how almost universally the intelligent laity of Italy are alienated from, if not arrayed against the Church and religion.

As an illustration of this interest, I may mention that in one cathedral city of North Italy, a number of ecclesiastics, with a cathedral dignitary at their head, have united themselves for *the express purpose* of a correspondence with our Church, in order to acquire accurate information concerning it. Again, a learned and well-known ecclesiastic of the reform school, proposed a correspondence upon this subject, in the columns of the *Esaminatore*. Another, and one of the most able as well as eminent in position of these priests, expressed the feeling that the possibility of substantial community of principles between our Church and themselves was full of hope for them; and he was anxious that great pains should be taken on both sides to understand each other more thoroughly. "Perhaps," he said, "God may per-

mit a formal conciliation between us ! But," he at once added, as if apologetically, "understand me. I do not speak of a conciliation between your Church and *Rome* as she now is. That would be absurd to speak of, indeed impossible, except on terms which would be disgraceful to you ; but, perhaps, God may some time grant a conciliation between you and *us*, on a pure and primitive basis."

Among such ecclesiastics as these I found nothing of the obsequious agreement in every thing which characterizes a different class of self-styled reformers ; but a frank, though courteous statement of differences and difficulties. I have found too, among such men, no requests for money, *not one* ; but on two or three occasions when I have asked how our Church could best assist them, I have been answered in substance—to quote the words of one—"By teaching us to know and love you better ; and by your prayers for the Holy Spirit's guidance in our work."

THREE LETTERS

TO THE

REV. F. MEYRICK, A.M.

MY DEAR MR. MEYRICK,

I came to Italy with some mistaken ideas which, at first, interfered not a little with my power to comprehend the religious movement there, and greatly vitiated my reasoning upon the subject; and since I find that these very mistakes are also made by almost all, both of your countrymen and mine, who begin to take an interest in Italian reform, I think I may possibly be of service by calling attention to them, and that you will at least excuse me for so doing.

These errors all result from the habit of unconsciously judging others from our own stand-point, and—because we find them, to a certain extent, adopting principles which we also hold dear—attributing to them the convictions, habits of mind, modes of feeling, and sense of needs, which accompany or result from those principles in our own case. The experience of nearly a year de-

voted especially to the study of the Italians and of the reform movement here, has taught me nothing more thoroughly than the fallacy of doing this, and the difficulty of reasoning from data derived from *our own* ecclesiastical history or from our own religious convictions, to the feelings or needs, or probable policy, of the Italian reformers.

Let me try to specify, as briefly as possible, the more important illustrations of this error.

First of all, we are apt to infer that as soon as these Italians adopt reform principles substantially in harmony with our own, they are ready to turn frankly to us, to interest themselves in our Church, to desire to know more about it, and to welcome our sympathy, our counsel, and our aid.

The fact is quite the contrary. Poor as they are, and generally deprived of all means of carrying out their aims, it is not surprising that they are often very willing and glad to receive our money help; but almost all of them know far too little of our Church not to be very suspicious of either offers of sympathy or of inquiries coming from us.

We have been taught, and indeed compelled, to study, closely and critically, alike the past history and present practical condition of the Church of Rome; *they* have been taught to shrink from any knowledge of us, of our polity and of our doctrines, as from a defiling thing. They are not sure that any one of our schemes of Christian charity *may not be* a Trojan horse which we seek to tempt them to introduce into the very midst of

their religious principles. *Timent "Danaos et dona ferentes ;"* and just in proportion as they value those principles above the help which we might give them, is their exceeding reluctance (as a general thing) to trust us or to permit us to come within the closely guarded bounds of their confidence. There are too many, alas ! who, for the sake of our money, will profess, and will do pretty much any thing we should advise ; and such men, *seeming* to be the most advanced and mature reformers of all, are apt to be taken by incautious observers for the most deserving of our help and sympathy. But I can assure you, that such is yet the ignorance and suspicion of us among the Italian priests of even the reform school, that a readiness openly to espouse our fellowship on the part of any one would be quite as likely to argue a venal desire *to please us* as any special maturity in their views of Italian reform. There are indeed a few, a very few exceptions ; but I have known men, able, learned, and good men, whose great leading principles were *substantially identical* with those upon which the Anglican Reformation was conducted, and upon which the Anglo-Catholic Church takes its stand before Christendom to-day, who would almost fear, lest those principles would be endangered if but so much as our breath passed upon them. Nay, I have known two of those whose views and principles are most clearly defined, and come most nearly to our own, *firmly* renounce, now and for the future, our assistance, when they thought that we were desirous of influencing the character of this movement.

done
 e those
 them, is
 to trust
 ely guarded
 many, alas!
 s, and will do
 se; and such
 and mature
 incautious ob-
 and sympathy.
 the ignorance
 ests of even the
 to espouse our
 d be quite as
 as any special
 orm. There are
 t I have known
 se great leading
 with those upon
 s conducted, and
 ch takes its stand
 d almost fear, lest
 if but so much as
 , I have known two
 s are most clearly
 our own, firmly re-
 ur assistance, when
 s of influencing the

Churchmen distant from the field, naturally those whose names are most frequently quoted in the steps taken in the boldest and most open manner of constituting the reform party, and the movement. It is, so far as the clergy are concerned, otherwise. The priests of whom the public are generally such as, being suspended and excommunicated, have little need of further caution. They must not forget that these, however deplorable in cause, are, for the present, deprived also of the opportunity of widely influencing the Church, and certainly of the opportunity of taking part in any organic movement. The real strength of the reform party, and the real strength of the reform movement, is within the Church: it is engaged in the duties of their several ecclesiastical offices—their *parrochie*, their cathedral canonries, their parishes—men—men with so much at stake, alike for the Church and for themselves—are not likely to unhesitatingly give their hearts to any clergyman of a foreign, distant, or unknown, and certainly (as they have always been) very heretical and schismatical Church, nor is the clergyman professes to be interested in it, nor is he even willing to assist it with a few pounds. We do they know, indeed, whether these same are sent by Providence, or are a snare?

Le Lettere Piacentine, which have appeared in the *Esaminatore* from time to time during many years, are written by one of the most clear-headed and decided of these reformers. The last of these letters was published in the number for Jan. 1841.

the great principles which should govern the reform of the Italian Church with unusual clearness, force, and comprehensiveness. I am persuaded that these principles would be heartily accepted by the large proportion of those priests who are anxious for such a reform; and yet, aside from differences due to local causes, that paper would not appear incongruous had it been found among the documentary remains of one of our own reformers, or had it been drawn up for them by one of our own bishops.

But the writer does not by any means realize this; nor do I believe that either he or any of his like-minded brother ecclesiastics—even of those who have had most frequent intercourse with us—thoroughly and heartily trust either your Church or mine, or any one of us in our representative capacity. Not a word have I yet heard from one of *these* priests which gives evidence that his conscience has yet accepted our communion, as what it really is, *according to their own principles*, not only an integral part of the Catholic Church, but a far sounder part than their own. Their ecclesiastical charity towards us is very like that of a warm-hearted, thorough-going High-Churchman among ourselves towards some pious but extreme Dissenting sect, whose ecclesiastical position he condemns as firmly as he respects their personal excellence, good morals, religious principles, and genuine earnestness.

I am convinced, moreover, that not a few of those who *do* know most of us, and who acquit us of a desire to proselyte, believe that our interest in their cause

springs very largely from a hope that, should an Italian reform indeed take place, we might in consequence improve our own ecclesiastical position, and recover that catholicity which they suppose us to have lost in emancipating ourselves from the corruptions of the "Catholic Church."

I feel, therefore, as though I could scarcely exaggerate the joy and sense of strength which it would probably give these reformers if they could thoroughly realize at once the catholicity of our Church and the Christian disinterestedness of our sympathy with their movement.

It should then be our first great object to make ourselves really known to them, to acquaint them with our history, our polity, our principles, and to win their affectionate confidence for our Church. Something may be done, under present circumstances, now and then, here and there, in detail, by aiding them, and especially the suspended priests, in their poverty and persecutions; but their truer knowledge of us is the one great prerequisite to our power of rendering these faithful men any thing like the service that we might.

To this end, the publication of such Anglican authors as have been issued by the Anglo-Continental Society is undoubtedly valuable; but there is yet wanting a great link between them and their extensive usefulness; and that is a sufficient interest on the part of the Italian reformers or others to prompt them to read them after they are published.

There are then two or three things if not of greater, yet at least of *more immediate* importance.

1st. A class of writings expressly prepared for and adapted to these very men themselves, which will awaken such an interest and draw out their confidence; and even more.

2nd. Personal intercourse between these men and representatives of our Church, who can fully comprehend and identify themselves with their position, and with their ignorance and suspicion of us; and who, through such personal intercourse, can alone link one by one the delicate filaments which will finally bind the primitive school in the Italian Church and the Anglican Communion together in practical sympathy as they are already identified in interest.

And, 3rd. The opportunity of seeing for themselves with their own eyes, and hearing for themselves with their own ears—in some suitable manner—as they have not yet been able to do, and as English and American chapels, designed solely with reference to our own travelling countrymen would never enable them—what our ministry and what our worship really is.

Leaving other specifications of our errors in judging of this movement to another letter, believe me,

Faithfully yours,

WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.

FLORENCE,

February 20, 1868.

MY DEAR MR. MEYRICK,

Among the mistakes of which I spoke in my last as often interfering with our power to appreciate the religious movement here, is forgetfulness of the entirely distinct aspect which the Papal question presents to the *Italian* from that which it presents to the English, or indeed, to any other Church. The first great step of *our* Reformation was, of course, to renounce all jurisdiction on the part of the Pope; and that renunciation, nay a steady, unflinching resistance to the Papacy in every claim, at every issue, has been a cardinal principle, ever since, in our adherence to the reformed position, character, creed, worship, and discipline of our Church. Therefore, when our fellow-churchmen think of the reformation of another national Church—the Italian, for instance—it is so natural to feel that their first great step and the fundamental principle of their reform, should also be the renunciation of the Pope, that not a few have been discouraged and doubted the reality of the movement, when they found that most of these Italian Reformers continued to recognize the Pope. The force of habit has sometimes made this no slight stumbling-block.

But *our* Church never renounced the communion of the Bishop of Rome. The fathers of *our* Reformation never refused to recognize him as the occupant of an ancient and venerable Metropolitan See in the Church of Christ; but they solemnly refused to submit to his claim to

exercise jurisdiction over the Church of England, or to be any longer a partaker of the heresies and corruptions of the Roman See. Why, then, should we expect the Italian Reformers to go *further* than they? Yet, if the Italians recognize the Pope, they *must* recognize him as their own chief ecclesiastical dignitary; and whatever may be the limits of his rightful jurisdiction—if it is to be recognized at all—it *must* be as a jurisdiction in or over the Church of Italy.

There is no contradiction between such recognition on the part of the Italians and our own principles, for the cases are unlike. Such a contradiction would exist, if they insisted upon the Papal jurisdiction over England which our forefathers renounced. So far, however, as their programme relates solely to Italy, these Reformers are only called upon to vindicate the Catholic principles which restrain within due limits the exercise of that jurisdiction which rightfully pertains to the See of Rome.

Let us only reverse the relative positions of the Churches of England and of Italy, and all will at once realize this distinction. Let us suppose that it had been the Archbishop of Canterbury, instead of the Roman See, that, extending his usurped jurisdiction over the Western Churches, had sanctioned and even enforced upon them, as *de fide*, the corruptions which had sprung from the middle ages as well as from his own inordinate ambition. Had the Church of Italy alone reformed three centuries ago, it would then have renounced the supremacy of the See of Canterbury, and protested

against its errors; while a reform party springing up *now* in the English Church, instead of doing the same, would still recognize its primatical see and its occupant, but would resist its uncatholic subjection of the Episcopate. It would press an examination into the just limits of his jurisdiction and authority, and would proceed, *with* his consent and co-operation if possible, but *without* it if necessary, to procure the reformation of the Church, and to confine their Primate to the discharge of the functions, and to the exercise of the authority legitimately pertaining to his see.

Thus, exactly as in such a case the English Reformers would continue to recognize an Archbishop of Canterbury as rightful Primate of all England, although other reformed Churches had very properly renounced his jurisdiction, so the Italian Reformers continue to recognize the Pope, although they do not by any means propose to submit to what they regard as his usurped ecclesiastical authority, nor to obey his unscriptural and uncatholic decrees.

Again, almost every one of your countrymen or mine, when first taking an interest in this movement, at once inquires of the various doctrines and principles of worship and discipline held by these reformers, as they might if reviewing a class which had just completed its studies at Cuddesdon or New York; or at least as if they were a compact, thoroughly organized body of men, whose theory of reform, having been first fully perfected in all its details, they were now about attempting to reduce to practice. It seems to be taken for granted,

not only that they will of course adopt our local and modern theological formulæ—the Thirty-nine Articles entire—but that they have or ought to have already done so;—that ecclesiastical dignitaries and patriotic laymen, cloistered students and active men of business, practical Lombard, speculative Tuscan, and impulsive Neapolitan, all, by some common instinct, have not only at once completely abandoned all the old opinions in which they had been trained from childhood, but had simultaneously adopted precisely the same new opinions, and we are anxious to know if these are—our own.

The Fathers of our own Reformation were not so miraculously enlightened. They were enlisted one by one in the movement, whose ultimate result it is, not its first phase, which we have inherited. They laboured slowly and toilsomely in their investigations, differing greatly among themselves, reluctantly and with difficulty yielding old prejudices and old opinions one by one to each other's arguments and to their mature reflection, until after the lapse of years and by long study and many conferences among themselves, they reached finally the conclusions which the Church has accepted and upon which she has rested satisfied ever since.

These Italian reformers are but doing the same. They have dared to realize and to confess that their Church is oppressed by the Papacy and corrupted by the doctrines and the practices which that Papacy has sanctioned and still defends. They have freely acknowledged that there is a problem to be solved and a reform to be accom-

plished before their Church can recover its primitive purity and true Catholicity. While they are yet labouring, as it were, to state the problem correctly, why should we be disappointed that they are not ready to satisfy us with regard to every term of a result which they are very far from having yet attained?

Enough that they have declared the necessity of the reformation of the Italian Church, that they avow it to be their object to restore it to its own primitive condition, that they accept the Bible, as interpreted by the consent of the Nicene period and the practice of the Church in the first three, four, five, or six centuries, as the standard of reform; enough that while they recognize the Pope as an ecclesiastical dignitary who has certain legitimate claims upon them, they are not going to leave him to define the limits of these claims, but, on the contrary, will subject them to a searching scrutiny; enough that they will by no means permit the prohibitions, or even the threats and penalties of the Pope, to arrest them in their sacred work. Let these suffice, without suffering either our sympathy for them or our thanksgiving to God to be checked by the fact that they have not in a few very short years reached a maturity in respect to their new principles which our fathers did not attain in less than a generation.

If our fellow-churchmen would then ever keep in mind that the Italian reformers, in adjusting their course towards the Pope, *unlike* the English, are dealing, not with a foreign prelate, but with the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of *their own Church of*

Italy ; and also that this movement is as yet only in its preparatory stage,—they will be able to form a truer conception of what such a movement, at such a stage of its progress, must of necessity be ; and therefore be enabled to realize better how much cause there indeed is for our grateful rejoicing, and for the intercessory prayers of our active Christian sympathy.

In concluding these thoughts, I will trouble you with one letter more, and meantime remain,

Faithfully yours,

WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.

FLORENCE,

February 25, 1868.

MY DEAR MR. MEYRICK,

I approach the topic to which I venture finally to ask your attention, with some reluctance, since I find myself obliged to differ so widely in respect to a practical question of no little importance from some whom I profoundly respect and love. I speak with the more hesitation since the question of assisting congregations separated from the Church for the purpose of reformed worship, to which I refer, is one which has unfortunately divided those English friends of this movement who might otherwise have heartily co-operated in one society.

The argument usually urged runs somewhat thus :

We have done all we can to diffuse among the Italians purer views of religious truth, more Scriptural views of Divine worship—we have earnestly encouraged those good priests and others who are doing the same. Their eyes thus opened, their consciences thus instructed, they are no longer able to worship in their own churches, or they are refused by the priests religious privileges; they are driven from the Communion, their children denied holy Baptism, they themselves Christian burial. What are they to do? To neglect public worship altogether, or to worship apart, as a temporary provisional expedient, until this tyranny be overpast? Shall we, after having done our utmost to enlighten them, to unfit them, if you please, for their own worship, then forbid them to provide a purer worship? Shall we then say, "Stay where you are, submit to being deprived of every spiritual privilege, or continue to worship contrary to your conscience until the whole Church, or at least whole portions of it, become reformed"? or shall we gladly encourage them, and, if necessary, assist them in providing for themselves such united worship as they can conscientiously accept?

This argument seems conclusive, and, for my part, *if the premises assumed be granted*, I do not see how a warm-hearted Christian man can escape from the practical conclusion; or could avoid going forward promptly and rendering every assistance, with counsel and with money, in his power. And, in fact, when I came to Italy such were very much my feelings. But I am now constrained to admit both error in the premises and

fallacy in the argument. The subject is of such importance that I will be excused for analyzing it in some detail.

It is assumed,—

1st. That there are (a) among those desirous of an internal, Catholic reform of the Italian Church, and (b) in sufficient co-resident numbers for united public worship—both priests and laity who are so advanced in their views as to prevent them from continuing to worship in their own churches, or who are refused the Holy Sacraments, and who therefore feel the need of other provision to supply this want.

2nd. That *such* Italians are desirous of using, as a temporary expedient, our liturgy, in whole or in part, for such worship.

3rd. That *such* Italians cannot so worship without our assistance.

I am compelled to deny *each one* of these three premises. It would be long to detail the opportunities I have had for investigating the facts, or the grounds of my present convictions; but it is of the less consequence, since I believe those who are personally familiar with the field would take issue with me, if at all, only as to the accuracy of my analysis or the soundness of reasoning. The leading fallacy of the argument in defence of the duty of assisting such separated congregations is, I believe, to be detected in the alternate *emphasis* upon, and entire *forgetfulness* of, one or both of the conditions in the first premise which I have marked (a) and (b). *A plea which is only sound with those conditions, it*

is applied to a supposed state of things only real if they be omitted.

The religious movement in Italy is developing in two ways. The *one* is an earnest missionary attempt, on the part of foreign Protestants, to preach the Gospel to individuals and to bring them, one by one, out of their old Church and to unite them in some one of a variety of new ecclesiastical organizations, which are thus proposed to these Italians for their acceptance. The *other* is an effort, on the part chiefly of priests of the Italian Church, to bring about a reform in and from within the Church itself, which shall restore that Church, either wholly or in part, organically and with an unbroken historical continuity, to primitive Catholicity. The one has commenced, and for the most part still continues, among the lower class of the laity; the other is commencing with the clergy, and will work downwards. Much may, no doubt, be said in advocacy of both these policies, but it must be admitted that they are so thoroughly distinct that it is impossible for the same persons to take part in both.

For such as clearly, conscientiously, and understandingly propose to themselves the first of these policies, not merely the *assisting*, but the promotion of the organization of separate congregations, is a matter of course. It is an absolutely *essential* part of the whole scheme: it is the very soul of it. But those who wish rather to show their sympathy for the internal and more Catholic policy, and even to lend it a helping hand, should carefully avoid even the suspicion of being

engaged in the proselytizing policy upon which most foreigners have entered, and which, because a foreign one (if for no other reason), utterly fails to secure any real influence upon the Italian character—any permanent foothold among the Italian people.

Our Church has declared its sympathy especially with the aim of the native, internal, and Catholic reform movement; and both English and American Churchmen generally avow their interest in this. It is therefore apart from my present purpose to inquire how many there are of those who have renounced their Church, or who have been drawn out of it by foreign agencies, that feel this wish for united worship, or how far some of these might like to use our Liturgy. Laying emphasis upon the conditions (a) and (b) of the first premise, I fearlessly assert that there are not to be found *among those desirous of such an internal reform*, and in *sufficient collected numbers to make united worship practicable*, the class of persons for whom our sympathies and our assistance is thus invoked, i. e. priests or laity, so advanced in their views as to be conscientiously unable to worship in their own churches, or refused by their priests the privilege of Christian sacraments. Every illustration I have ever heard urged against such an assertion has either been *inapplicable* because it referred to such as could in no sense be considered internal reformers, or to such as were rather drawn into such worship than impelled by a sense of spiritual need; or else it has been *fallacious* because it was a single marked and isolated individual instance, introduced into

the argument and treated as a representative of numbers of others able and desirous of forming with him a congregation. I will gladly accept correction if I am wrong; but, at present, I know of but two priests and two laymen (heads of families) at most among those who intelligently and conscientiously adhere to the policy of an internal reform, and yet feel any such present need of such reformed worship. And if I add three or four more who might be named as associating themselves with such a scheme of reform, and yet as *perhaps* desiring such worship, the whole seven or eight—all of whom I know any thing—are distributed among five distant places of residence; and some of these, I *know*, would rather supply this need for themselves with family worship, or even by attending one of *our* churches, than have an Italian separatist congregation organized.

All I have urged in my last letter concerning the slowness of advance, and what we may call immaturity of views among these reformers, applies with full force against this assumed existence of this sense of need, which is the foundation of the whole argument. I cannot but think, after all, that this first premise has been unconsciously taken for granted, because it seemed to so many that, under the circumstances, there must be numbers who would be placed in just this position and feel just this need. I have, in a former letter, pointed out the fallacy of our doing this.

But I shall be answered—"You admit that there may be a few of the Catholic reformers who do feel this need. Their number may increase, and the force of the argu-

ment for such services is, therefore, only transferred from a present to a future application." I reply, that priests themselves, not laymen, are leading the way in this movement, the laity being, alas! as yet too indifferent; and, therefore, it is altogether probable that in proportion as such a need is really felt among the Italians, the due provision will be made by their own priests, by gradual modifications of the services in some, at least, of their churches, to meet this need. But even were this point yielded, it would only establish the propriety of *their* provision of *some* temporary reformed worship; the nature of such worship would yet remain an open question, and the propriety of foreign interference in them would still remain to be proved.

But it is also assumed that such Italians are desirous of using, as a temporary provision, our liturgy, wholly or in part, for such worship. I willingly admit that many of those Italians who have been drawn out of or have renounced their own Church, and are looking about for some form on which to frame their new scheme of worship, might find much in our liturgy which would appeal to their habits and instincts far more powerfully than the cold and dreary services to which they are usually subjected by the sectarian missionaries. But our service itself is too long to be really adapted to Italian *use*; and its being a foreign liturgy would be sufficient reason why they should beware of it. For, again, insisting upon confining the argument to the Catholic reformers (for it is here that it perpetually escapes us), what I have already written of the utter

ignorance and even suspicion of us which prevails among the Italian Churchmen, applies fatally to this assumption.

Finally, even if the picture so touchingly drawn in the argument for this policy *were* from the life, and the plea were well-grounded to the letter,—even if such priests and laymen were cut off either by their own conscientious convictions, or by the Church, from the opportunities of united worship, and thus deprived of the sacraments,—the crowning fallacy of the argument lies in the assumption that they could not supply their needs in this respect. What? Godly reforming priests not baptize or administer the Holy Communion without help from foreigners of perhaps, in their estimation, doubtful Catholicity and soundness in the faith? Conscientious men, craving spiritual food, not meet and worship in a private room, in an empty hall, in an upper chamber—any where, without our pecuniary assistance? Forgive me, but this is rather an intense form of ecclesiastical patriotism.

No: they may not be able, without our help, to offer their priest *pecuniary* inducement in the form of a *salary* for so doing, and they may not be able to hire and fit up halls, or create a sensation and build up a congregation of proselytes, without our help. This, however, was not the point. The plea was for a provision for the spiritual needs of such as could no longer find that provision in their old Church. But surely neither prayer nor praise would remain pent up, unuttered, in a sincere heart, nor child go unbaptized, nor Holy Sacrament

unadministered, if there were a godly priest among them worthy of the name, and feeling at liberty to officiate at all, for want of the help of men of whose own ecclesiastical status scarce one among them knows any thing to counteract the prejudices in which they have always been trained. And if their *conscience* has not awakened this sense of need, God forbid that we should come in and unwittingly apply to their convictions a stimulant from which sincere men would inevitably shrink.

I have again and again had occasion to assure our fellow-Churchmen that the chief reformers here in Italy are almost out of sight. We are led astray by our impatience, by our yearning to see visible proofs—nay, bold, startling evidences—of the change going on here. But the “kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation.” We cannot expect to stand outside of all this movement—much less afar off in a foreign and a distant land, and *see* the silent working of the Divine leaven, the germinating and early development of the hidden seed. The true men have a solemn issue at stake. They are labouring for reform for their beloved Italy; for the spiritual welfare and salvation of themselves and of those who come after them; for their Church, their Saviour, and their God. Let us reverence the sacredness of their work; give them the helping hand in the instances in which it can be done; teach them as we have opportunity to know and love our Church better; and let its light so shine before them that they, seeing her good works, may glorify our common Father which is in Heaven. Let us wait and watch and pray—not

attempting to forestall God's appointed time, but rather following them with a patient as well as faithful sympathy until the hour, which I devoutly believe is reserved for them and us, when we shall indeed see eye to eye, and with one heart, yea, and one mouth, give thanks unto God for the marvellous results which He hath wrought.

Faithfully yours,

WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.

FLORENCE,

March 5, 1868.

THE END.

**This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.**

**A fine of five cents a day is incurred
by retaining it beyond the specified
time.**

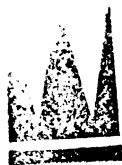
Please return promptly.

~~DUE JAN 13 191~~

~~DUE OCT 18 '45~~

~~DUE NOV 1 1947~~

FEB 24 '67 H
13062541
RECEIVED



AUG 1971

WESBY

Digitized by Google